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REPUBLICANISM OF NINETEEN-TWENTY

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Bravure, Andersen-Lamb, La N.Y.

A. Lincoln

REPUBLICANISM OF NINETEEN-TWENTY

EDITED BY

FRANK HENDRICK

PUBLISHED BY

ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL COMPANY, PUBLISHER

WILLIAM BARNES, PRESIDENT

1920

JK23
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Gift of The Albany Evening Journal

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THE JOURNAL COMPANY,
ALBANY, NEW YORK

GIFT

THE DE VINNE PRESS
NEW YORK

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Part I

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THE PLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

BY
FRANK HENDRICK

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THE PLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

THE roots of The Republican Party reach to the very sources of vitality of representative national government in the United States. The initial victory of The Republican Party resulted in the first uncompromising assertion by the government itself of national sovereignty as the object, the sanction, and the very condition of popular government. The fight which established The Republican Party was the final episode in a struggle for true national existence which commenced with the first settlement of the widely separated colonies and ended in the surrender at Appomattox of the Army of the Confederacy to the Army of the Union.

VITALIZED THE CONSTITUTION AND ASSURED THE PERPETUATION OF NATIONAL EXISTENCE

Then first was realized a political party in complete control of the nation as the embodiment of the resolve of the people to be a nation. The impulse of the colonists to be independent of European control and to stand together to that end involved a double motive to a single purpose. Instinctively, if without conscious plan, the inhabitants of the colonies were always working steadily toward the elimination of any power outside themselves, whether foreign or domestic, of a dominating personality, a compact obstructing minority, or an irresponsible government. Their goal, that of the aspiration of human beings for political liberty throughout history, was first formulated in theory in The Constitution of the United States. That document provided an entirely new plan, a government, not of men but of laws, founded upon the consent of the governed. Until Abraham Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg, there had been no clear definition of the purpose of the forces of disunion with which Washington, Marshall, and Webster had contended as inheritors one from the other and as testators to Lincoln of the leadership of a sacred cause. When the great prophet of individual freedom said that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth, he spoke as the political chief of The Republican Party. He then and there proclaimed that all impulse to devitalize the Constitution and leave it a mere paper plan, under which the sovereignty of the American People might cease to be, must be thereafter vain. The purpose that had brought on the war and had rallied to its support all believers in the Union had not only given life to the principle of national unity but had so organized it as to give to it what the Constitution itself alone could not—namely, assurance of perpetuity. In an address delivered July 6, 1904, to commemorate the founding of The Republican Party under the oaks at Jackson, Michigan, fifty years before, Elihu Root called The Re-

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publican Party "The Party Fit to Govern." Through the election of Lincoln, therefore, not only was the fulfilment of the purpose to save the Union assured, but there was discovered the way to perpetuate it. Unrivaled in any land at any time, and without a competitor in our own, The Republican Party has embodied in its history the greatest contribution to the art of government ever made and has exemplified in action the great work in the perpetuation of popular government so modestly and simply foreshadowed for it by its first political chief, Abraham Lincoln, and so vividly expressed as the last word in the great struggle for political freedom through party government in Elihu Root's definition of the true American national political party as "The Party Fit to Govern."

THE GUARANTEE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE

The true function of a national political party in a democracy is to submit to the nation at popular elections candidates for office necessary to be elected to organize the government at the expiration of the terms of the incumbents. This proposal of candidates involves responsibility, prospectively as well as retrospectively, and only through party responsibility, the responsibility of the candidate to the party and of the party to the voters, may contact upon matters of public interest and national policy be continuously maintained between the government and the people in a practical way.

ORGANIZES, FORMULATES, REPRESENTS, AND EXPRESSES THE POPULAR WILL

That not the wisdom, virtue, and patriotism of individual candidates but the will and sense of the people are to be expressed in government is the essence of the party principle as it is the foundation of democracy. To nominate candidates representative of the country is the work of a political party. It is not a mere coincidence that the party which speaks for the nation elects its candidates. The first duty of a political party is to assure its own success. A political party succeeds neither by merely following such expressions of popular will as its leaders may apprehend, nor, on the other hand, by asserting, for acceptance by the people, the will and judgment of the party leaders. A truly national political party aims to make itself, so far as may be possible, identical with the electorate, to select for its leaders those who are in the highest sense leaders of the people, and, through conference of these leaders, to interpret for the people and for the party at the same time the will and sense of the people as a whole. The only theory upon which a national party in the United States may continue to exist is that no man or body of men can monopolize the virtue, wisdom, and patriotism of the United States; to awaken, stimulate, and express them is the task of true party leadership; the things themselves, however,—and in the concession of that fact party safety lies,—remain the common possession of the whole people. Proved capacity for political leadership, therefore, assumes an understanding not only of what the people presently want, but of what upon argument and consideration the people may be moved to accept. A political party, whose leaders do not dare thus to interpret and to tell the voters what the people want, but is content merely to ratify expressions of popular feeling apprehended by its leaders, renounces the character of a national political party. In a national democracy someone must organize and formulate the popular will, and when that work is left to an individual or to a group, not only democracy but the

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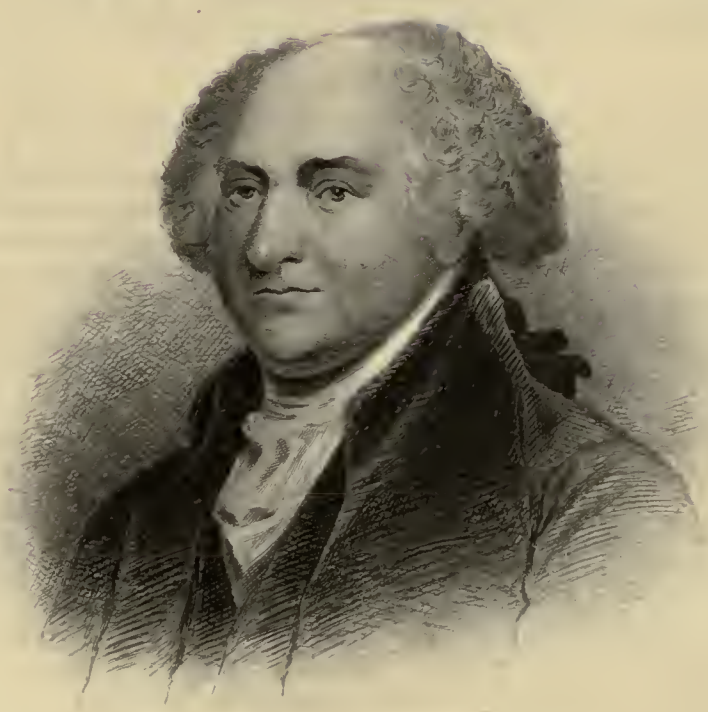

John Adams

nation ceases to function. The saving grace of partisanship is that it is representative of the people; the democratic element of a public function lies in responsibility to a political party in the true sense, in loyalty to the institution for what it is, does, and represents rather than to the individuals who dominate it. This definition of a political party was first worked out and has been consistently exemplified by The Republican Party and never otherwise.

FIRST EMBODIED THE NATIONAL PRINCIPLE AND IS ALONE IDENTIFIED WITH NATIONAL EXISTENCE

The clarity of Republican thought, the definiteness of Republican proposals, and the characteristic honesty, fearlessness, and sincerity of Republican political leadership have stood out from the first organization of The Republican Party as the inspiration to national progress. In 1854 the supreme concern of all existing political machinery was the preservation of slavery. An entire section was organized politically with no national end to serve at the expense of slavery, and the dominant political party, in control of the national government, was the heir of all those movements since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States having for their object to prevent the vitalizing of that document lest the nation thereby called into life might withhold the protection claimed by slavery as its right and as necessary to its continued existence. Organized opinion in the sections not devoted to slavery did not go so far in 1854 as to insist upon the operation of the government as a national government, certainly not for the sole purpose of destroying slavery. The change in opinion between 1854 and 1860 was the work of the political leaders who organized The Republican Party. Those men inherited the political thought of Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, John Adams, Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Webster. They inherited also the task of overcoming the obstructive resistance to the operation of the government as a national government with which those statesmen had been obliged to contend. The halo about the head of Washington, the political genius of John Adams and Hamilton, the constructive statesmanship of Marshall, the personality of Clay, the devotion of John Quincy Adams, and the eloquence of Webster had not sufficed to sustain a political party upon the vital principle of national supremacy which they all cherished and all urged as necessary to continued national existence. The means of communication between distant parts of the country were not such as to permit the moulding of a popular opinion essentially national. The people were so worked upon in the separate States that the spiritual force in the appeal to national patriotism was almost extinguished. Even the winged words of Webster were, for all their temporary effect, soon mere words. At the end he himself had ceased to heed them. It was one man, bending over backward on the bench against personal persuasion, a judge resisting every appeal of politics and popular opinion, a Southerner, who, defying threat, epithet, local prejudice, and national contempt, in constant fear and actual jeopardy of personal harm and of the disgrace of impeachment, for thirty-five years, by one unpopular decision after another, kept, without the organized support of a political party or of public opinion, the fabric of the national government created by the Constitution of the United States from utter dissolution. It was as a lawyer, arguing non-political briefs before the Supreme Court of the United States, that Webster was effective. It was, thus, not the support of popular opinion or the machinery of political organization

that the men who formed The Republican Party inherited; they inherited a principle, nothing more, and it was out of that they created a political party, the first, and as yet the only one, on this or any other continent, fit to govern a great nation, or even willing to pretend to that high honor and daring to rise to that great dignity.

THE CONFLICTING MISSIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS AND DESTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION MADE DEFINITIVE BY THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

The forces that were embodied in The Republican Party had always been those of positive progress and constructiveness. The dominant political organization of 1856 always was, even when in control of the government, and ever since 1856 every political movement carried on under the same name has been and none more typically than that just organized anew at San Francisco to match in appearance as nearly as possible the indictment by The Republican Party of the Wilson administration, not a party but a faction organized for opportunist opposition. From the beginning, by whatever name called, Anti-Federalist, Republican, or Democratic, that party existed for the sole purpose of opposing the putting of the national government into full operation. The form of this vagary manifested by the so-called Democratic party in 1920 was the assertion of the right of the President to be an autocrat and himself to carry out the transfer of the American government to a superstate controlled by other nations. The nominee of the San Francisco convention was chosen because it was believed he would, if elected, nullify the Eighteenth Amendment. The tacitness of this shame-faced promise is characteristic both of the nominee and his so-called party. When first challenged politically by the men who formed The Republican Party, this party of opposition resolved that the nation must cease to exist rather than that the government should be permitted to become national. Driven by the agitation against Slavery to issue a manifesto, the Democratic Convention of 1856 adopted a political platform introduced by a pious profession of "trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people," followed by a declaration that this trust was "a distinctive feature" of their political creed, which they were "proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will," in contrast with "the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for popular credulity." Consistently enough in one way, the platform proceeded with a series of denials of power to the national government, abjuring, of course, any claim to the exercise of such power by the protesting party in office; but with less consistency, and rather in contradiction of the sublime renunciation of power under the Constitution on its own party's behalf, the platform proceeded to defy any expression of the popular will. The party in power, sworn to uphold the Constitution, trusting in "the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people," resolved:

> "3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The weakness inherent in mere opposition is that the spirit of association based upon opposition is bound to manifest itself in dissension within the association.

Called upon to be explicit in 1856, the party of opposition determined to be negative, but in 1860 was compelled to default in the adoption of a platform. The Democratic Convention of 1860 contented itself substantially with three declarations:

"*First:* That the platform of 1856 was ratified;

"*Second:* That Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters; and

"*Third:* That inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic Party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories, the Democratic Party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of constitutional law."

Beginning in 1856 with a threat not to let the people think about slavery, the Democrats arrived by 1860 at the point of refusing to let one another think. Agreement in opposition for its own sake is about equivalent to agreement not to agree about anything. On precisely that basis, wets and drys, leaguers and anti-leaguers, radicals and reactionaries, lovers and contemners of Woodrow Wilson enjoy the characteristically negative harmony dispensed by the recent Democratic Convention. And in order to justify the renunciation for the people in the Democratic Platform of 1860 of discussion of a great issue of national policy essentially political in its nature, the Democratic Platform of 1860 referred the whole matter to that department of the government which is peculiarly, essentially, and strictly non-political, and bound the Democratic Party to abide by the decision. The routine of opposition is to strain at a gnat as a duty in order thereby to swallow a camel as a privilege. The doubt will probably never be resolved whether the party of opposition is inspired by mere self-deception or by consciousness of the necessity of deceiving the people. In the Democratic Platform of 1864, the Constitution was, ostensibly in the name of the Constitution, actually abjured in the following language:

"*Resolved,* . . . with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, . . . that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which . . . the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and public and private welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, . . . that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

DELIBERATE AND SUSTAINED ORGANIZED OPPOSITION HAS NO PLACE IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

With the seventy-five-year struggle for the realization of a true nation all but won, the party of opposition took its stand before the people in 1864 upon a promise, which finds its complement in the Wilson proposal for a league of nations adopted at the autocrat's command by the Democratic Convention of 1920 against the will of the members of the Convention, to abandon the nation altogether for a mere league of States. These three platforms, of 1856, 1860, and 1864, expressing the full fruitage of the political theory of opposition developed during that entire

period of seventy-five years, represent faithfully the inherent character of the party of opposition. To the objection that opposition is necessary, it may be answered that opposition does not become affirmative, progressive, or constructive by the fact of its necessity any more than error becomes truth by reason of its inherence in human weakness. Strength seeks not an excuse for error, but the way to be right. Political life no less than individual existence is a combat, and that over which the right triumphs is the test and proof of right. The service of opposition in trying the strength of affirmative policy does not ever entitle opposition to be elected to control, for opposition is, by its own choice and election, doomed to remain opposition and nothing more. A compact minority organized to obstruct the realization of the will and sense of the people is none the less negative by reason of the agreement of its members in opposition and none the less a minority because of its compactness, but remains always what it deliberately sets out to be, namely, an unjustifiable conspiracy against the government. Since the first success of The Republican Party, no Republican Convention has afforded a valid reason for the adoption of an opposition platform or the nomination of opposition candidates. History will be read in vain for justification of such opposition. Cox, the fox, luring to more Wilsonism, apes Republicanism!

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS ESTABLISHED THAT ONE NATIONAL PARTY FIT TO GOVERN IS THE BASIS OF PERPETUAL NATIONAL EXISTENCE

It was the opposition of seventy-five years that proved that the American nation under the Constitution of the United States deserved and was from the beginning destined to be perpetual, and it was the entire struggle and not one election merely that proved The Republican Party to be the embodiment of that victory, the perpetual exponent of the American nation, and The Party Fit To Govern. Washington was elected President of the United States by common consent, and in 1820 Monroe was re-elected without opposition during an era of good feeling. There is nothing in the theory of our government opposed to unanimity in support of all candidates for national office. The constitution of human nature assisted by the continued existence of The Solid South explains the wide departures from unanimity that have made up the political history of the United States. And it is true beyond possible controversy that, no matter what allowances must be made for mistakes by individual Republican Presidents, and Republican Congresses, or by men who have used the Party in the days of its ascendancy in such a way as to abuse it, The Republican Party has consistently from first to last embodied and carried out the theory of one national political party justifying itself by the courage, sincerity, and patriotism of its leaders as the extra-constitutional adjunct of the national government developed by the whole people as their representative and a device to perpetuate the national government and to make it responsible to the people.

INAUGURATED A PERPETUAL GOVERNMENT NOT OF MEN BUT OF LAWS

The first three platforms of The Republican Party demonstrate unanswerably that the theory upon which the Party was organized made the United States for the first time a nation and proved the system of one national party fit to govern as the basis of representative national government. The sequel shows the Party true to the prin-

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Daniel Webster

eiple of its existenee and thereby tests not the virtue, judgment, and patriotism of the passing personnel of Republiean leadership but the inherent vitality of that prineiple. That the full portent of the pregnant words of Lineoln's Gettysburg Address has never been overstated is a moderate assertion. The new birth of freedom whieh the nation reeeived from the national Republiean leaders of 1856, 1860, and 1864 was in effect the true birth and to a life everlasting. It was in very truth these men who divorced government from personal, faetional, and minority domination, and summoned the nation into being and the Constitution into operation throughout the United States *ex proprio vigore,*—by its own foree. They did this not as inheritors or acquisitors of power but as representatives of the people in a government not of men but of laws.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PLATFORM
AN AMERICAN MAGNA CHARTA

The Republiean Platform of 1856, adopted by "delegates assembled in pursuanee of a eall addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differenees or divisions, . . . in favor of restoring the aetion of the Federal Government to the prineiples of Washington and Jefferson," invoked the spirit of every epoeh-making doeument in the age-long struggle for politieal liberty and in sentenees that erackle ealled for the enforeement of the Constitution of the United States in the nation established by it. The realities attempted to be eoneealed by the smug platitudes of opposition were unmasked in the following remarkable paragraph:

> "*Resolved,* That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to 'form a more perfeet union, establish justiee, insure domestie tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and seeure the blessings of liberty,' and contains ample provision for the proteetion of the life, liberty, and property of every eitizen, the dearest eonstitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed foree; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and exeeutive offieers have been set over them by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannieal and unconstitutional laws have been enaeted and enforeed; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a eondition of exereising the right of suffrage and holding offiee; the right of an aeeused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searehes and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due proeess of law; the freedom of speeeh and of the press has been abridged; the right to ehoose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and eneouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanetion, and proeurement of the present National Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and aceessories, either *before* or *after*

the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

"*Resolved,* That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory."

The men who adopted that plank are responsible for the protection to-day, not only of the more than one hundred millions who now constitute the American people, but of countless millions throughout the world, by the principles of Magna Charta, and all the other great historic embodiments of the demand for political liberty. The real issue to-day is whether the opposition of the so-called Democratic party shall result in the success of those exponents of class strife by whatever name they call themselves whose aim is the destruction of all private property and of the protections of life, liberty, and other individual rights, and the supplanting of law and order by terrorism and chaos. Truly the sin of wanton personal or partisan ambition is not a venial sin.

OPPOSITION TO AND DEFECTIONS FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PROVED TO BE ASSAULTS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY AND THE NATIONAL WELFARE

The Party formed in 1856 has kept its principles continuously in the ascendant for sixty-four years. This it has done by winning control of the executive administration of the government in eleven out of fifteen national elections, of the Senate in all but fourteen out of sixty-four years, and of the House in all but twenty-four, and by exercising a check, even in these periods of divided control, on the efforts of opposition. In the two baleful periods of complete control by the opposition, from 1893 to 1895 and from 1912 to 1918, the revulsion of popular feeling was so strong and so sudden that the Republican idea seemed appreciated the most deeply just after rejection at the polls of the Party's nominees. Opposition has been directed effectively at times against candidates rather than against The Republican Party. The day after election has seen the voters horrified in the contemplation of the result of their forgetfulness of the Republican idea that The Republican Party and not the individual candidate is the important factor in the work of government. The truth is that the Party has been unsuccessful only when defections have been organized by a few political poseurs, who, given prominence by their associates in Republican leadership, have made use of that prominence to start, in the name of conscience and principle, movements designed to overturn the Party leadership but always resulting in the overturn of the Party and of principle, in disaster to the nation and the consequent recourse to the same Party leadership to save the country from the vagaries sought to be put into practical application by the opposition, under the lease of power received through the bad judgment of the ill-advised Republican malcontents. This class of disturbers, in 1884 named Mugwumps, has always attached too little importance to the Party and too great importance to the individuals they have opposed and to themselves. Justifying their opposition by the assertion that

by virtue of their position as Republican "independents" they compel their own party and the opposition both to nominate better candidates, they exemplify the worst vice in the so-called two-party system, and hold themselves out as bell-wethers to be used by corrupt influences to lead the flock away from the party that will not do the bidding of these influences. Leaders of defection from The Republican Party are really an adjunct to the opposition which is the club of which they are the handle held by the private interests whose hope to control the government is sustained by the continued existence of the opposition. No defeat of The Republican Party has ever proved the opposition fit to govern, but every attempt to discipline Republican leaders by defeat of The Republican Party has always shown both the need of one, and only one, great national party and the inexorableness of the necessity of strict adherence to the principles of its existence. The Democrats of to-day are extending the handle of a more powerful club to the firebrands of Socialism. It behooves them to consider whether by their mere opposition, they are not inviting a common disaster. Opposition to Harding and Coolidge is "aid and comfort" to the declared enemies of Americanism and of Law and Order.

The most individualistic and independent of all Republicans, the late Senator Hoar, exposed the fallacy in the logic of Republican separatists by insisting that the only hope for a man devoted to great principles was in getting the Party to stand for them and not by working for the success of the opposition to all great principles. Never has the Republican system of organizing the popular will yielded ever so little to a demand for abandonment of the profession of those great principles. Muddled thinking has been disposed of in convention and never has been permitted to appear in the Party Platform, nor has the need of application of the great fundamental principles to actual situations been disregarded. That is why the platforms of the opposition, built largely of planks rejected in the open deliberations incident to Republican conventions, are such perfect specimens of muddled thought. The Mugwump appears in the calm light of history always to have been precisely what Horace Porter, borrowing the words of Disraeli, called him, namely, "a person educated beyond his intellect." Every individual nominated by a Republican National Convention has been sustained in character, ability, and wisdom by the commission to stand for The Republican Party. No man either unfit or incapable of growth in character, ability, and wisdom has ever emerged as the candidate of The Republican Party, and every Republican President has left office beloved and honored by all the people and an object of national pride. As did Bryan in 1896, Cox now poses as unlike the Democratic incumbent!

EVERY TEST OF OPPOSITION IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY HAS DISCLOSED ITS INEVITABLE GOAL TO BE AUTOCRACY

The temporary ascendancy of the opposition has always served to reunite the people in support of Republican leadership, with the outgoing opposition incumbent of the Presidency proclaiming the impossibility of working in harmony with the so-called Democratic party by which he was nominated and insisting upon representing the people as a benevolent autocrat. The latest protagonist of "democracy," the "wet" decoy, "endorsing" Wilson and his League, though opposed to both and aware that neither could now carry a Northern State, condemning the Republican Senate and Harding's announced regard for Congress while himself leaving Prohibition to the Congres-

sional elections Wilson held in contempt, imperiously demands blind acceptance of another darkroom experiment in Democratic government. Truly, intelligent persons who vote for Cox sin against the light.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS AND CANDIDATES REPRESENT THE WHOLE PEOPLE—DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS A COMPACT MINORITY OF DELEGATES FROM THE SOLID SOUTH

The explanation of the consistent support of The Republican Party by the people, every exception, afterward duly repented, being attributable to causes shown to have been unfounded and unjustified, lies in the capacity of the people of the United States to express their sense and will positively through responsible representatives and in their insistence upon their right to do so. In the selection of delegates to national conventions, in the choice of candidates for President and Vice-President, and in the formulation of platforms, The Republican Party has always expressed that capacity and responded to that insistence. But it is not given to mere opposition to conduct its affairs upon such a plan; its negative proposals have themselves always been dictated by opportunity for attack assumed to have been afforded by Republican leadership; and its adherence to the unit rule of voting State delegations in its conventions and to the requirement of two-thirds to nominate a Presidential candidate has doomed it to be controlled by the compact non-assenting minority, in the nature of things and by tradition sectional. This minority represents the machine of political oligarchs sustained by white voters as a reward for disfranchising colored voters. The vote in national elections for the opposition candidates is not a vote of approval, since the proposals of opposition are themselves negative. In opposition platforms, where the words seem most fair their import is most foul. The retort of Emerson to a rascal, "I cannot listen to what you *say* while what you *are* keeps ringing in my ears," befits the cant of the devil's advocates whose chosen political vocation is consistent opposition to everything that is good for their country and to the Party that has accomplished, in spite of that opposition, everything that has ever been accomplished for the good of their country. In all but two instances, the opposition has held its national convention after the Republicans. The reason is obvious. In 1920, although the castigation of the Wilson administration in the Republican platform is savage in the extreme, the Democrats have chosen to make it appear in their platform that they are distinguishable only in minor unessentials from the Republicans. The opposition is continually changing its political garments, but, however clothed, it is always disguised. Seldom have the people failed to penetrate the deception. Whenever the success of the opposition in national elections may not be explained as the result of fortuitous circumstances, it may be read in the light of subsequent events as the unjust and ill-advised condemnation by Republicans of the attempt, charged to their leaders, to misuse The Republican Party and to divert it from its principles. All Americans are in the broad sense Republicans; it is the design of The Republican Party to represent them, and until the distinction between clear thinking and error is no longer perceptible and right and wrong become matters of taste, there will never be a need of more than one affirmative national party. That party will be as great and useful as the capacity of the people for representative government and their devotion to political liberty. "Democracy," on the other hand, *dispenses with* the people.

J. Q. Adams

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINCOLN WAS BUT THE RESURGENCE, INEVITABLE IN THE PARTY OF THE NATIONAL CAUSE, OF THE AGENCIES FITTED TO CARRY ON THE WORK

In 1860 the capacity and devotion of Americans had been for the first time permitted to be demonstrated in an effective manner. The Republican Party was strong enough in the election of 1858 to compel the naming of a Republican Speaker. The reliance of Republican leadership upon the united purpose of the voters untrammeled by devotion to Slavery had already become steadfast. The Republican Platform of 1860 was again a summons to the whole nation. The consciousness of the mission of the Party being deepened, the breadth and dignity of the appeal to confidence stamped this, the first platform of the established party, with the character, since the distinctive mark of the Republican declaration, of a challenge to national self-respect. This appears clearly in the whole platform, and the following paragraphs may be set forth as an illustration:

"*Resolved,* That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

"1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and Constitutional triumph.

"2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,' is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved. . . .

"8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individual, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States. . . .

"12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence. . . .

"17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support."

This platform reasserted with added clearness the purpose of The Republican Party to support the Constitution, to enforce it, not as a protection of privilege and injustice, but as a charter of liberty, to insist upon the essentials of policy and practice in government, and to be concerned with the welfare of no less than all the people. Neither the tragic tenseness of the political drama for which this platform was the prelude, nor the individual character, talents, and personality of Abraham Lincoln, had anything determinative to do with the distinguishing qualities of this and other Republican platforms. The drama itself was staged and Lincoln was developed as protagonist by Republican leadership. Abraham Lincoln was a typical product of Republican politics and was himself essentially a Republican politician. And the platform, crystallizing, as it did, the policy and thought of Lincoln as it was then matured, was not the product of his will. Like every other truly Republican declaration, it was not a formula of words not to be realized in results, but itself expressed the working out of the progress of events upon the patriotic minds of the men destined to give them meaning in history, and demonstrated the persistent resurgence, above all obstacles, of truth, justice, and right policy. Pretext-seeking ambition then as now found its haven in "democracy."

The Republican Platform of 1864 also was precisely what, in the nature of things, the national authority not being completely asserted, it had to be, namely, a declaration of a determination not to compromise and a demand of unconditional surrender. If there was any ulterior design in this determination, it was not mortal. The will to oppose the triumph of the national cause was wickedly conscious and calculated, just as all subsequent opposition has shown itself to be. That of 1920 is no exception.

NOT PERSONAL AMBITION BUT THE CALL TO SAVE THE NATION BROUGHT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY INTO BEING

The practical lesson of the history of the United States from the first origins down to the present is that the party system of one party fit to govern, unlike any other at any time anywhere, was not born of personal or political ambition but was compelled by, and was the inevitable result of, the adoption of a national Constitution and the natural growth thereunder, during the half century of non-enforcement of that Constitution, of forces it was designed to curb, inspired by other than public motives and fostered by and bent upon the progressive disintegration of national authority. Before the middle of the 19th century these forces took shape in the movement called sectionalism tending to break the nation into two separate republics, one based on free labor, the other on that of slaves. It was the strength of this movement and the demonstration of the inherent unfitness of the Democratic party, or any other party constituted other than as "The Party Fit To Govern" was to be, that called The Republican Party into being. The boldness of the disunion forces and the necessity for political reconstruction were but half seen in 1840 when the Liberty Party, the first political party organized in the United States to oppose the spread and restrict the political power of slavery, and the lineal precursor of the Free Soil and Republican Parties, was formed. It was only when the die was cast that the Rubicon was crossed and The Republican Party was formed. But Cox of Ohio is still for "States' Rights."

THE GREATNESS OF LINCOLN WAS BUT THE SLOW GROWTH IN OFFICE AS A REPUBLICAN NOMINEE OF A REMARKABLE MAN TO SUPREME AVAILABILITY FOR THE WORK OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

In the year 1840, Lincoln was serving the last of his four consecutive two-year terms as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, and it was six years later that he was first elected a member of the National House of Representatives, not as a member of the Liberty Party, but as a Whig, the only one elected to Congress at that election in Illinois. In 1837, in the Illinois House of Representatives, with one other representative from Sangamon County, named Dan Stone, Lincoln protested against a series of resolutions, adopted by the Illinois General Assembly, which expressed disapproval of the formation of abolition societies and asserted, among other things, that "the right of property in slaves is sacred to the slave-holding States under the Federal Constitution." But the paper put out by Lincoln and Stone showed that the greatest political force for the assertion of national authority and individual freedom was yet to be developed as events themselves dictated by a political party based upon the simple and modest theory of doing the full duty of every occasion as that duty appeared, and that honest purpose must not, to appease the demand of any occasion, compromise with truth, justice, or common sense. The future emancipator himself was in 1837 content to say that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils"; . . . "the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District," and "the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States." To have gone further at that time would have been to anticipate the occasion by two decades. Lincoln never committed the sin, unpardonable in a politician, of forgetting the limitations imposed upon the office-holder by his oath of office. In 1916 Cox sought votes by approving German atrocities!

THE ABOLITIONISTS AS THE FIRST PARTY RUNNING ON AN ISSUE DEFEATED THE PARTY OF LINCOLN AND ELECTED THE ADVOCATES OF SLAVERY

The course of the anti-slavery movement justified Lincoln's attitude. The Liberty Party was organized in the Old Northwest under the leadership of James G. Birney. After a long anti-slavery religious movement, it nominated Birney for the Presidency in 1840 and gave him 7,069 votes. It nominated Birney again in 1844, and gave him 62,263 votes and many more than enough in New York to have carried that State for Clay, the Whig candidate for President, had they been thrown to his support. These sincere believers in an issue thereby achieved the result (also recently attained by another party formed without any occasion whatsoever, as its organizers are now forced to admit, upon an isolated idea, or a sublimated personality) of defeating its natural ally and electing the adversary it was organized in order to and pretended to be able to defeat. Voters heretofore affiliated as Democrats now face the prospect of giving the encouragement to Socialism which the Abolitionists in 1844 gave to Slavery.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS DESIGNED BY ITS FOUNDERS TO BE TEMPORARY BUT PROVED TO BE INHERENTLY INDESTRUCTIBLE

It is true that the founders of The Republican Party themselves looked upon the movement in which they were engaged as a temporary one made necessary by an emergency with the passing of which the necessity for joint action would pass. Even after the crisis was past, such leaders in the Party as Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, and Horace Greeley, as soon after the war as 1872, were willing to bring about the dissolution of the Party by defeating its candidates. In 1884, in 1892, and in 1912, the same proposal was made. Often enough has the indestructibility of the Party, based upon the permanence of the problem it solves, been denied, and perhaps never has its true character been recognized. The view of the Constitution ascribed to Gladstone, as a work struck off at one time by a body of men assembled for the purpose, is no more superficial than the theory, commonly held, of The Republican Party as a political organization established, maintained, and controlled for the time being by a fixed personnel of political leaders working to realize specific objects through control of the government and to maintain their own ascendancy, and by them continued for those objects. The men most conscious of what they intended to achieve by the formation of The Republican Party themselves asserted the correctness of this theory. The pledge taken "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854, was as follows:

> "*Resolved,* That, postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.
>
> "*Resolved,* That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of Republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as 'Republicans' *until the contest be terminated.*"

As is urged by Francis Curtis, in his admirable work in two large volumes, "The Republican Party," in the following eloquent language:

> "This was not, however, the first gathering of Republicans nor the first time the name of the new party had been used. As when the seed is sown and the blades of grass spring up almost simultaneously, now here, now there, in different parts of the field, so, in the spring and summer of 1854, from the seeds of Abolition and Anti-Slavery Extension, sprang the Republican Party in Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Maine, Massachusetts, Iowa, Ohio, and other Northern States. But because of the fact that, in a formal convention assembled, a platform was adopted and a full State ticket nominated on the 6th of July, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan, that day and place must be conceded to be the birthday and birthplace of the Republican party."

Only the name, however, of The Republican Party was the result of accident or the design of mortal man. The name, moreover, had no traditional or actual relation to the objects of the Party. Besides the "National Republican Party," as the Adams-

J. C. Fremont.

Clay split, from 1824 to 1834, of the so-called Democratic Republican Party, was called, there had been the party organized by Jefferson under the name Republican, which was sought to be continued after 1828 without the nationalism of Adams and Clay under the supposedly "popular" and "liberal" names "Democratic" and "Jacksonian." It was the Jeffersonian "Republicans" who sponsored the Kentucky and the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, the former of which began as follows:

> "1. *Resolved,* That the several States composing the United States of America are not united upon the principle of unlimited submission to their general government."

Despite the personal resentment of Andrew Jackson against nullifiers, it was his victory in 1828 which brought about the continuance in power of Jeffersonian Republicans, under the name of Democrats, up to 1860, and the reaffirmation in the Democratic Platforms of 1856 and 1860 of the Kentucky and the Virginia Resolutions, as well as all other declarations in defiance of the authority of the national government under the Constitution. Since 1865 pretext has passed for reason for existence.

A PARTY NOT OF ISSUES BUT OF ACHIEVEMENTS

The Republican Party, on the other hand, did not build itself about an isolated idea, or, as did and do all other so-called parties, in opposition to an isolated idea. The standard-bearer nominated upon the first platform by the National Convention of The Republican Party held in Music Fund Hall in Philadelphia on the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1856, represented not the abstract idea of building the nation, but the actual concrete achievement. John C. Fremont, by his opening the path of settlers to the Pacific, in realization of the lifelong passion of his father-in-law, Senator Benton, had awakened the practical sense of the founders of The Republican Party to the necessity of pre-empting the national territory against the aggression of the domestic power of slavery and the power of a foreign foe as well. As Parke Godwin wrote, in the September, 1854, number of *Putnam's Monthly,* under the caption "Our Parties and Policies":

> "Nebraska and Kansas will be slave States if slave-holders go there, and they will be free States if freemen go there, and this is the long and the short of the matter. . . . It is one of the dangers, as one of the glories, of this nation that its plans are executed with the rapidity of magnetism. *A thought is scarcely a thought before it becomes a deed.* We scorn delays; we strike and parley afterwards; we actualize the dreams of the old philosophers, and impart to our abstract ideas an instant creative energy. . . . As it now is, no man who expresses, however moderately, a free opinion of the slave system of the South, is allowed to hold any office of profit or trust under the General Government. . . . Yet . . . emancipation is practicable if not easy. . . . They have only to discard all past alliance in the single hope of carrying to speedy victory a banner inscribed with . . . THE HOMESTEAD FOR FREE MEN ON THE PUBLIC LANDS."

This was the practical plan adopted by The Republican Party in 1856 in the slogan: "Freedom and Fremont." In the purpose to knit together as one stretch of free territory the belt of Northern States stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the convention "under the oaks" at Jackson was impelled by the same concern consistently

expressed in the first three Republican platforms in the planks demanding the pushing of railroads to the Pacific. To bring the sections and the people of the sections together meant the Union, and, responding to their needs, organizing and expressing their will, The Republican Party became at the outset not the exponent of an isolated idea but "The Party Fit to Govern," and these men became, in that sense, The Republican Party. Roosevelt was never more characteristically Republican or typically American than when he created the Panama Canal. Cox like the others is "nothing but words."

THE MENACE OF ONE-MAN OR ONE-ISSUE GOVERNMENT

The development of the Republican movement after 1856 was a refutation of the notion that a true national political party may be or should be permitted to be built upon a single idea, and, having realized that idea, may or should be permitted to be disbanded, and of the idea that The Republican Party was other than the permanent truly national party. A national government is an organic whole, a living thing, and vitality and vigor in every part are essential to national existence. The great majority of the new party had been either Whigs or Democrats, and as such had cherished in conflict with one another the respective isolated notions upon which those so-called parties were based. The Whigs asserted their belief in the national nature of the Union; the Democrats put forth, as their claim to support, their belief in the people. These two so-called parties maintained that these beliefs were irreconcilable. It was the work of The Republican Party to reconcile them and in so doing to prove that only one "Party Fit To Govern" is necessary, to or possible in the control of the national government by the people. No party could be built on Democratic opinion today!

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DOES NOT CREATE ISSUES BUT SOLVES THEM AS THEY ARISE

The successful realization in actual government of the first three platforms of The Republican Party removed forever from the field of political controversy every issue upon which the so-called parties had divided from the beginning of national existence down to the close of the War of the Rebellion, and thus put the people, through their representatives, in control of the government in the place of the conflicting oligarchs and oligarchies then cloaked with the names of political parties. The theory of American government thus established is—in contrast with the English system of competing parties in office each flirting with the chance of a change of government by an appeal "to the country," upon an isolated issue with a single "cry" or slogan, which is substantially a revolution—a unified control by trusted representatives of the people elected for a fixed term with full power to organize the government and to carry it on during that period with the responsibility involved in the necessity of resorting to the people at elections at fixed intervals for a renewal of power. All great reforms come from the common people but they are not promoted by the contests of parties in elections. A truly representative party, on the other hand, responds to the urge of the people without regard to issues or elections, while the dominating individual in office may not. The slow response of President Wilson to the inevitable in the European conflict and his persistence in a personal policy since its close are not the only illustrations of the fatuity of supplanting continuous government by an occasional issue. The lamented McKinley insisted in 1896 that, as a "tariff" man, he must run on the tariff issue. The voters insisted upon defeating Bryan and electing

H. Clay

The Republican Party on the money issue. The problems really solved by The Republican Party during the McKinley administration were those arising out of Spanish rule in Cuba. It is the failure to realize the essential character of our government as a representative republic kept in contact with the people by a truly national representative political party that accounts for the plague of false politics and the unending manufacture by quack statesmen of fictitious political issues. The pathway of the so-called Democratic party is strewn with the dead issues upon which it has builded its hopes. Small wonder that its recall from limbo of the defunct League of Nations is voiced so faintly as to suggest the desire that it be not heard. That issue is Wilson's!

THE ONE-MAN, ONE-ISSUE MOVEMENT THREATENS THE NATION NOW

The menace of political insincerity is ever present and was never greater than it is to-day. It is impossible to forecast the limit of the threatened harm. Through the votes of a decided minority in 1912, the present Democratic incumbent received more than four-fifths of the electoral vote and was enabled to build up a machine by which, thanks to a characteristic misrepresentation of the issue by his supporters and the bad management of the Republican candidate's supporters, he secured his re-election, brought the nation untold misery and as a new issue a proposal that the government be transferred to a league of nations. The existence, too, of a new political power resting upon ignorance, discontent, and words, has been persistently promoted by the same man in the same manner. What a split of parties coinciding with a recrudescence of Mugwumpism, to which the league of nations idea particularly appeals, would permit a combination of Socialists and others to bring upon the country, it is impossible to say. The Mugwump "balance of power" has been surrendered to a new group of parlor theorists. They are watchful of their opportunities and they find them in the creation of false issues by the so-called other great political party. The responsibility of the Mugwumps in 1884 for the disasters brought upon the country by a so-called Democratic administration was great, but it was negligible compared with that of those who shall cause to be organized to-day a political movement based upon the opportunist ambition of the so-called Democratic party. The need of the situation cries out for the union of all the people behind their great, representative, national political party. It is the proud boast of The Republican Party that it has never pandered to ignorance or passion, but, sifting false issues from the true, has worked out and solved the problems of the nation as they have arisen. It was because the events that made Lincoln President were not manipulated, but were allowed to determine the course of The Republican Party as the savior of the nation, that the task of the Party became permanent, and the theory upon which the Party was founded demonstrated the everlasting fitness of the Party for that task. The view would be superficial which would hold that the movement in favor of slavery and disunion was the supreme danger of all time for the nation, and that once that danger was removed, the country was safe. In 1860, the South was an open foe with frank and definite proposals of hostility. To-day a class struggle more abhorrent even than that of the sections is being nurtured under cover by skilled leaders practising upon the credulity of the ignorant, without being sensed by the intelligent mass of the people. The real salvation of the Union was already accomplished because Lincoln had by that time smoked the South out and permitted those devoted to the Union to see clearly the meaning of the proposals of opposition. In so doing, he made it easier for every succeeding Republican Convention down to the

present to unmask the nation's foes, domestic or foreign. It is as an honest, clear-thinking statesman, fearless in the right, that Lincoln was typical of The Republican Party. So long as that sort of political thought and courage is necessary, The Republican Party will be the mainstay of national existence. As such, it calls by right upon every clear-thinking, patriotic American, including those who have heretofore called themselves Democrats for support. The nomination of Cox was meaningless.

LINCOLN NOT A ONE-MAN CANDIDATE OR A ONE-ISSUE MAN

It must be emphasized that it was not the personality of Lincoln, but the establishment of The Republican Party, that created as an entirely new thing the characteristic American attachment to a party which has withstood all the storm and stress of sixty years and promises to endure forever. Lincoln cherished hostile personalities in his cabinet and fostered the clash of views that none might be lost, unrepresented, or unweighed. It is the custom to assume that certain lines of cleavage have been established for more than a century in American politics, that crystallization has taken place about the two opposite poles of strict construction and liberal construction of the Constitution of the United States, and that nothing less than a political convulsion able to shake the whole fabric to its centre would release the atoms from the control by which party traditions and associations hold them. The theory that there is inherent devotion to two parties expands the simple notion that there must be a contrary to every proposal into undue praise for the temporary group of opposition dignified by a fallacy with the name of party. The application of this notion to the entire period of national existence under the Constitution is based upon a complete misapprehension of what happened in 1860. In a learned treatise on "The Electoral System," published in 1906, the late J. Hampden Dougherty portrayed the American people as victims throughout their history of a congenital sentimentalism by which they were paired off in opposing groups against one another for the mere sake of maintaining the traditional cleavage and without considerations of patriotism, self-interest, or common sense. He said, at pages 321 and 322, as follows:

> "The two chief party organizations have somehow shot their roots down into the very hearts of the citizens of this country. They are not parasitic, and it is futile to think of seriously changing these basic adjustments, without the lapse of a great period of time, except through some political cataclysm. The outlook in the near future for some third-party organization which shall displace one of the two great parties of the present day is unpromising indeed. In politics men are as conservative as in religion, perhaps more so. By education, traditions, associations, they are so inseparably wedded to party, that not even when the nation is in an agony for its existence will they, in any great degree, ignore party attachments. But the salvation of the country lies in this conservatism. If great masses of voters could suddenly forget party affiliations, be detached from old connections and become the sport of all sorts of political forces,—demagogic, socialistic, aristocratic, or other,—the outlook for free government would be sombre indeed. So great is the strength of party attachment, the roots of party sentiment run so deep, that it would be foolish to propose any amendment that should fail to take account of them. . . . Party government is an indispensable factor of our institutional political progress. One cardinal fault in propositions to amend the

electoral system is in the defective philosophy that has sought to abolish parties. The Constitution need not in terms recognize them any more than it recognizes their conventions or their machinery, but no amendment can ever be passed which might forbid or even hamper their activity or impede the natural institutional development of the American people."

A contrary theory, more in keeping with realities, was expressed by President Barnard of Columbia College in an article in *The North American Review* for February, 1885. He urged that Congress exercise the functions both of a nominating convention and of the Electoral College. In Congress, upon the "one great party" theory, a minority with ever-changing personnel remains a minority. Under the "two great national parties" theory, a minority with fixed personnel is made up of the disfranchised representatives of the majority vote of their constituencies. The majority, when the so-called Democratic party is in the ascendant, represents the Solid South, with its disfranchised constituents, a minority of minorities, swaying the misrepresentatives of Northern communities, thus totally disfranchised either by the allegiance of representatives to the so-called Democratic party or by allegiance to The Republican Party. A so-called Democratic President represents a one-third minority in the so-called Democratic national convention. Upon any theory it is necessary to discontinue that ghastly misnomer "The National Democratic Party." Neither the convention of that party nor of any party is the place to formulate economic policies or the action of the government in matters of finance or international relations. Representative government may not be established on the so-called Democratic party. The true work of the War of the Rebellion was to destroy that party. The greatest indecency of our political history has been the recurrent ghoulish molestation of its safe and dignified sepulture.

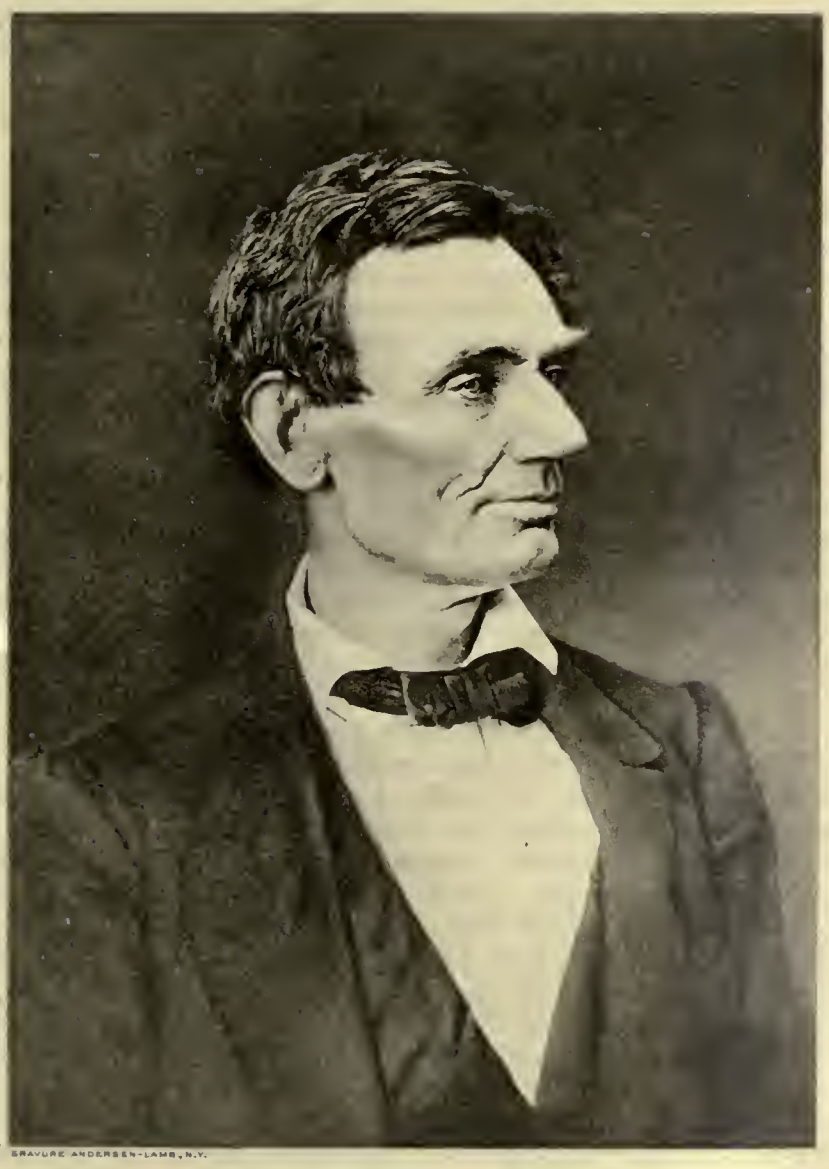
NOT LINCOLN BUT THE NATION MADE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WHICH IN TURN MADE THE ONE IMMORTAL AND THE OTHER EVERLASTING

The abandonment of allegiance to the so-called traditional parties was precisely what characterized the movement from 1854 to 1860 in American politics, and there was no sentiment whatever about it. The Solid South remained solid, and since 1860 it has been the only solid thing about the so-called second or opposition party. The veerings and twistings of Democratic tenets have been motivated purely and simply by the purpose to get something on The Republican Party, and the only consistent devotion has been among those minded to carp and quibble and distrust and constitutionally incapable of personal self-suppression in co-operation with the main body of American citizens. The rest of the country has responded consistently from 1854 to the present time to an appeal to the intellect, and during all that time it was The Republican Party which made that appeal. Ever since the close of the War of the Rebellion the door has been as wide open in the South as it has been in the North to the participation of all in the organization of one great national political party. The moment, however, that the troops were withdrawn during the Reconstruction period, the Solid South began to vote solidly "Democratic" in national elections as it had done before the war, and for the same reason, and has continued to do so ever since. The Solid South, therefore, just as it forced The Republican Party thus to settle the slavery question, has held aloof from truly national political organization ever since and has forced The Republican Party to settle every other national question that has

arisen. That circumstance and that alone has occasioned the supposition that there are two great national political parties in the United States, despite the fact that it is that very circumstance which has disclosed the fitness and the sufficiency of only one great political party. The real achievement of Abraham Lincoln was his shaping of his own thought to the needs of political organization and thus bringing the two successive victories to The Republican Party which determined its future and that of the nation at the same time. In other words, The Republican Party was originally constituted to represent and has since been permitted to represent alone the sober second thought and common sense of the American people. To surround Lincoln with a halo and place him above the Party is to deny him his supreme merit and to blink both the facts of history and the fundamentals of American politics. To do that at this time is not merely a political blunder but precisely a political crime. The Democratic campaign spells "division." The San Francisco Convention made a gift to the Socialists of the motto "Divide and Rule" upon which Cæsar built the power of Rome. The watchword should be "Union" as it was in the crisis faced by Lincoln.

AS A WHIG LINCOLN WAS UNINSPIRED

It was not sentiment but the sheer force of the logic of national existence that made out of the raw material of an Illinois legislator the great figure in the world's history which Abraham Lincoln became. It was not because Lincoln was a great man but because he was personally popular that, in 1838 and 1840, he received the vote of his minority colleagues for the speakership of the Illinois House of Representatives. In 1842 his attempt to secure a nomination to Congress was unsuccessful. In the same year his interest drifted to the Washingtonian temperance movement. In 1846 he was elected a member of the National House of Representatives by a majority of 1,511 over his Democratic opponent, Peter Cartwright, a Methodist preacher. Lincoln was the only Whig member of Congress elected in Illinois in 1846. In the House of Representatives on the 22d of December, 1847, he introduced the "Spot Resolutions," which quoted statements in the President's messages of the 11th of May, and the 7th and 8th of December, 1846, that Mexican troops had invaded the territory of the United States, and asked the President to tell the precise "spot" of invasion; he made a speech on these resolutions in the House on the 12th of January, 1848. His attitude toward the war and especially his vote for George Ashmun's amendment to the supply bill at this session, declaring that the Mexican War was "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President," greatly displeased his constituents. He later introduced a bill regarding slavery in the District of Columbia, which (in accordance with his statement of 1837) was to be submitted to the vote of the District for approval, and which provided for compensated emancipation, forbade the bringing of slaves into the District of Columbia, except by government officials from slave States, and the selling of slaves away from the District, and arranged for the emancipation after a period of apprenticeship of all slave children born after the 1st of January, 1850. While he was in Congress he voted repeatedly for the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. At the close of his term in 1848 he declined an appointment as Governor of the newly organized Territory of Oregon and for a time worked, without success, for an appointment as Commissioner of the General Land Office. During the Presidential campaign he made speeches in Illinois, and in Massachusetts he spoke before the Whig State Convention at Wor-



GRAVURE ANDERSEN-LAMB, N.Y.

A Lincoln

cester on the 12th of September, and in the next ten days at Lowell, Dedham, Roxbury, Chelsea, Cambridge and Boston. It was through ordinary party service that he became an eloquent and influential public speaker. In 1840 and 1844, he was a candidate on the Whig ticket for Presidential elector. Among Lincoln's most famous cases in his law practice was one (Bailey *v.* Cromwell, 4 Ill., 71; frequently cited) before the Illinois Supreme Court in July, 1841, in which he argued against the validity of a note in payment for a negro girl, adducing the Ordinance of 1787 and other authorities.

CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL EXISTENCE DENIED MADE LINCOLN AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

From law, however, Lincoln was soon always irresistibly drawn back into politics. The slavery question, in one form or another, had become the great overshadowing matter in national, and even in State politics; the abolition movement, begun in earnest by W. L. Garrison in 1831, had stirred the conscience of the North, and had had its influence even upon many who strongly deprecated its extreme radicalism; the Compromise of 1850 had failed to silence sectional controversy, and the Fugitive Slave Law, which was one of the compromise measures, had throughout the North been bitterly assailed and to a considerable extent had been nullified by State legislation; and finally in 1854 the slavery agitation was fomented by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repealed the Missouri Compromise and gave legislative sanction to the principle of "popular sovereignty"—the principle that the inhabitants of each Territory as well as of each State were to be left free to decide for themselves whether or not slavery was to be permitted therein. In enacting this measure Congress had been dominated largely by one man—Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois—then probably the most powerful figure in national politics. This "issue" of "squatter sovereignty" was a typical contribution of a Northern "Democrat" to the Solid South. Precisely what Lincoln did was to expose the nature of this sort of political bargain to the people of the North and thus to cause the partnership to be dissolved and the Northern adjunct of the Southern Democratic party to be destroyed as such adjunct. Lincoln had early put himself on record as opposed to slavery, but he was never technically an abolitionist; he allied himself rather with those who believed that slavery should be fought within the Constitution, that, though it could not be constitutionally interfered with in individual States, it should be excluded from territory over which the national government had jurisdiction. In this, as in other things, he was eminently clear-sighted and practical. Already he had shown his capacity as a forceful and able debater; aroused to new activity upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which he regarded as a gross breach of political faith, he now entered upon public discussion with an earnestness and force that by common consent gave him leadership in Illinois of the political opposition to slavery, which in 1854 elected a majority of the legislature; and it gradually became clear that he was the only man who could be opposed in debate to the powerful and adroit Douglas. He was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives, from which he immediately resigned to become a candidate for United States Senator from Illinois, to succeed James Shields, a Democrat; but five opposition members, of Democratic antecedents, refused to vote for Lincoln (on the second ballot he received 47 votes—50 being necessary to elect) and he turned the votes which he controlled over to Lyman Trumbull, who was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and thus secured the defeat

of Joel Aldrich Matteson, Democrat, who favored this act and who, on the eighth ballot, had received 47 votes to 35 for Trumbull and 15 for Lincoln. The various anti-Nebraska elements came together, in Illinois as elsewhere, to form a new party at a time when the old parties were disintegrating; and in 1856 The Republican Party was formally organized in the State. Lincoln, before the State convention at Bloomington of "all opponents of anti-Nebraska legislation" (the first Republican State convention in Illinois), made on the 29th of May a notable address known as the "Lost Speech." The National Convention of The Republican Party in 1856 cast 110 votes for Lincoln as its Vice-Presidential candidate on the ticket with Fremont, and he was on the Republican electoral ticket of this year, and made effective campaign speeches in the interest of the new party. The campaign in the State resulted substantially in a drawn battle, the Democrats gaining a majority in the State for President, while the Republicans elected the Governor and State officers. In 1858 the term of Douglas in the United States Senate was expiring, and he sought re-election. On the 16th of June, 1858, by unanimous resolution of the Republican State Convention, Lincoln was declared "the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas," who was the choice of his own party to succeed himself. Lincoln, addressing the convention which nominated him, gave expression to the following bold prophecy:

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South."

At the time Lincoln spoke the word "Democratic" had come to connote "slave" and the word "free" had come to connote "Republican." To read the Lincoln prophecy with the words indicating the political groups substituted for the policies they stood for provides at least an interesting mental exercise.

LINCOLN, THE REPUBLICAN, WAVED ASIDE POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY AND FOLLOWED THE LOGIC OF HIS CAUSE—DOUGLAS, THE DEMOCRAT, SHAPED HIS LOGIC TO THE PURSUIT OF OFFICE

In this speech, delivered in the State House of Representatives, Lincoln charged Pierce, Buchanan, Taney, and Douglas with conspiracy to secure the Dred Scott decision. The effect of this decision was, by reason of the *obiter dicta* unnecessarily incorporated in the opinions of the majority of the Court, to declare that no State has or could have any right to confer citizenship upon negroes, which was plainly to support nullification of the Missouri Compromise. The attitude of the Democrats toward this decision was warning enough to Lincoln that the logic of national unity was working itself out, and that the nation must soon be either *all* slave or *all* free. Yielding to the wish of his party friends, on the 24th of July, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a joint public discussion. Douglas and Lincoln first met in public debate (four hours on a side) in Springfield in December, 1839. They met repeatedly in the campaign of 1840. In 1852 Lincoln attempted with little success to reply to a

speech made by Douglas in Richmond. On the 4th of October, 1854, in Springfield, in reply to a speech on the Nebraska question by Douglas delivered the day before, Lincoln made a remarkable speech four hours long, to which Douglas replied on the next day; and in the fortnight immediately following Lincoln attacked Douglas's record again at Bloomington and at Peoria. On the 26th of June, 1857, Lincoln in a speech at Springfield answered *Douglas's speech of the 12th in which he made over his doctrine of popular sovereignty to suit the Dred Scott decision.* Before the actual debate in 1858, Douglas made a speech in Chicago on the 9th of July, to which Lincoln replied the next day; Douglas spoke at Bloomington on the 16th of July and Lincoln answered him in Springfield on the 17th. The antagonists met in debate at seven designated places in the State. The first meeting was at Ottawa, in the southwestern part of the State, on the 21st of August. *At Freeport*, on the Wisconsin boundary, on the 27th of August, *Lincoln* answered questions put to him by Douglas, and *by his questions forced Douglas to "betray the South" by his enunciation of the "Freeport heresy," that, no matter what the character of Congressional legislation or the Supreme Court's decision, "slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations." This adroit attempt to reconcile the principle of popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision, though it undoubtedly helped Douglas in the immediate fight for the senatorship, necessarily alienated his Southern supporters and assured his defeat, as Lincoln foresaw it must, in the Presidential campaign of 1860.* The other debates were: at Jonesboro, in the southern part of the State, on the 15th of September; at Charleston, 150 miles northeast of Jonesboro, on the 18th of September; and, in the western part of the State, at Galesburg (Oct. 7), Quincy (Oct. 13) and Alton (Oct. 15). In these debates Douglas, the champion of his party, was overmatched in clearness and force of reasoning, and lacked the great moral earnestness of his opponent; but he dexterously extricated himself time and again from difficult argumentative positions, and retained sufficient support to win the immediate prize. At the November election the Republican vote was 126,084, the Douglas Democratic vote was 121,940 and the Lecompton (or Buchanan) Democratic vote was 5,091; but the Democrats, through a favorable apportionment of representative districts, secured a majority of the legislature (Senate: 14 Democrats, 11 Republicans; House: 40 Democrats, 35 Republicans), which re-elected Douglas. Lincoln's speeches in this campaign won him a national fame. In 1859 he made two speeches in Ohio—one at Columbus on the 16th of September criticising Douglas's paper in the September *Harper's Magazine*, and one at Cincinnati on the 17th of September, which was addressed to Kentuckians—and he spent a few days in Kansas, speaking in Elwood, Troy, Doniphan, Atchison, and Leavenworth in the first week of December. On the 27th day of February, 1860, in Cooper Union, New York City, the invitation being caused by Greeley, who had abandoned Seward, he made a speech (much the same as that delivered in Elwood, Kansas, on the 1st of December) which made him known favorably to the leaders of The Republican Party in the East and which was a careful historical study criticising the statement of Douglas in one of his speeches in Ohio that "our fathers when they framed the government under which we live understood this question (slavery) just as well and even better than we do now," and Douglas's contention that "the fathers" made the country (and intended that it should remain) part slave. Lincoln pointed out that the majority of the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 opposed slavery and that they did not think that Congress had no power to control slavery in the Territories. He spoke at Concord, Manchester, Exeter and

Dover in New Hampshire, and at Hartford (5th March), New Haven (6th March), Woonsocket (8th March), and Norwich (9th March). The Illinois State Convention of The Republican Party, held at Decatur on the 9th and 10th of May, 1860, amid great enthusiasm declared Abraham Lincoln its first choice for the Presidential nomination, and instructed the delegation to the National Convention to cast the vote of the State as a unit for him. Yet the intimates of this great man have left the record to show that he was conscious of his unfitness to be President and viewed his political work in The Republican Party as sufficient honor and reward. How different is the current Democratic conception of the Presidency! The incumbent appears actually to find the office, if not beneath his contempt, at least too petty for his powers and beneath his moral and intellectual worth. For him the Constitution is obsolete and parochial.

LINCOLN NOMINATED BECAUSE HE WAS CONSIDERED POLITICALLY AVAILABLE

The Republican National Convention, which made "No Extension of Slavery" the essential part of the party platform, met at Chicago on the 16th of May, 1860. At this time William H. Seward was the most conspicuous Republican in national politics, and Salmon P. Chase had long been in the forefront of the political contest against slavery. Both had won greater national fame than had Lincoln, and, before the convention met, each hoped to be nominated for President. Chase, however, had little chance, and the contest was virtually between Seward and Lincoln, who by many was considered more "available," because it was thought that he could (and Seward could not) secure the vote of certain doubtful States. Lincoln's name was presented by Illinois and seconded by Indiana. At first Seward had the strongest support. On the first ballot Lincoln received only 102 votes to 173½ for Seward. On the second ballot Lincoln received 181 votes to Seward's 184½. On the third ballot the 50½ votes formerly given to Simon Cameron were given to Lincoln, who received 231½ votes to 180 for Seward, and without taking another ballot enough votes were changed to make Lincoln's total 354 (233 being necessary for a choice) and the nomination was then made unanimous. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President. The convention was made singularly tumultuous and noisy by the activities of the large claques hired by both Lincoln's and Seward's managers. It was, however, a typical Republican convention in that the resultant of contending views as to candidates prevailed and was accepted.

THE OPPOSITION, DIVIDED BY THE LOGIC OF THE NATIONAL PRINCIPLE, DISCLOSED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS TRUE CHARACTER

During the campaign Lincoln remained in Springfield making few speeches and writing practically no letters for publication. The campaign was unusually animated —only the Whig campaign for William Henry Harrison in 1840 is comparable to it; there were great torchlight processions of "wide-awake" clubs, which did "rail-fence" or zigzag marches, and carried rails in honor of their candidate, the "rail-splitter." Lincoln was elected by a popular vote of 1,866,452 to 1,375,157 for Douglas, 847,953 for Breckinridge and 590,631 for Bell. As the combined vote of his opponents was so much greater than his own, he was often called "the minority President." But the

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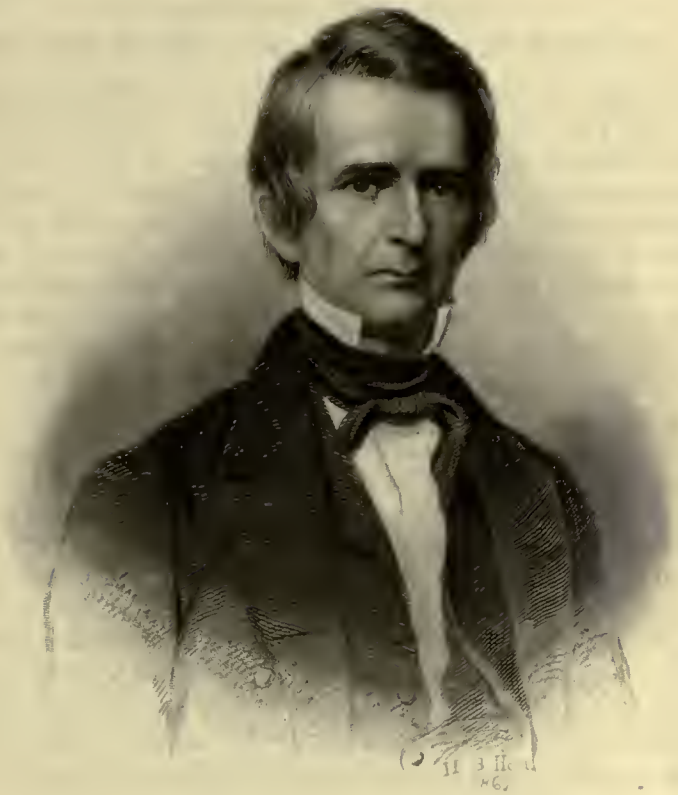


Hon. Wm. H. SEWARD.

Solid South was not voting on any national issue, but in denial of national existence. The North had already been educated during the election and responded to the call of the Union, and, as is usual, came around even more emphatically to the Republican position after the election. The electoral vote was: Lincoln, 180; John C. Breckinridge, 72; John Bell, 39; Stephen A. Douglas, 12. On the 4th of March, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated as President.

THE NATIONAL PRINCIPLE UNITES THE PEOPLE IN THE FACE OF FAILURE

As Lincoln's first presidential term of four years neared its end, the Democratic party gathered itself for a supreme effort to regain the ascendancy lost in 1860. The slow progress of the war, the severe sacrifice of life in campaign and battle, the enormous accumulation of public debt, arbitrary arrests and suspension of *habeas corpus*, the rigor of the draft, and the proclamation of military emancipation furnished ample subjects of bitter and vindictive campaign oratory. A partisan coterie which surrounded McClellan loudly charged the failure of his Richmond campaign to official interference in his plans. Vallandigham had returned to his home in defiance of his banishment beyond military lines, and was leniently suffered to remain. The aggressive spirit of the Democrats, however, pushed them to a fatal extreme. The Democratic National Convention adopted (August 29, 1864) a resolution (drafted by Vallandigham) declaring the war a failure, and demanding a cessation of hostilities; it nominated McClellan for President, and instead of adjourning *sine die* as usual, remained organized, and subject to be convened at any time and place by the executive national committee. This threatening attitude, in conjunction with alarming indications of a conspiracy to resist the draft, had the effect of thoroughly consolidating the war party, which had on the 8th of June unanimously renominated Lincoln, and had nominated Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President. At the election held on the 8th of November, 1864, Lincoln received 2,216,076 of the popular vote, and McClellan (who had openly disapproved of the resolution declaring the war a failure) but 1,808,725; while of the Presidential electors 212 voted for Lincoln and 21 for McClellan. Lincoln's second term of office began on the 4th of March, 1865. He died April 15, 1865.

THE BEREFT PARTY LEADS IN RECONSTRUCTION

Were The Republican Party mortal, its dissolution would certainly have followed closely upon the death of Lincoln. By that tragic event there succeeded as President Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a Southern Democrat, devoted to the political principles of Andrew Jackson, including a love of the Union and a hatred of Nullification in the form of Secession, the choice of whom, as the Republican candidate for Vice-President in 1864, Lincoln had suggested as a method of keeping the border States in line and as an answer to the criticism that The Republican Party was sectional. That Andrew Johnson was a man of unparalleled moral courage made the test for The Republican Party only the more severe. It was in the evening of the day that Lincoln first received the report of his own son, an eye-witness, of the surrender by General Lee of the Army of Northern Virginia that Lincoln fell by the fatal bullet. The complete end of the war was in prospect. At no moment could the necessity of firm guidance be more critical in determining the fate of the nation. The leadership of Andrew Johnson as President in the cause to the realization of which The Republican Party had dedicated itself was characterized in the Republican Platform of 1868 as follows:

"8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators."

NO PERILS IN THE SUCCESSION UNDER THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The nation has often been concerned at certain defects in the processes provided for succession in the case of the death or the disability of the President and the Vice-President. Senator Hoar, in his autobiography, sets forth, in a passage made much of by Dougherty in his work on "The Electoral System," his conviction that the Constitution is defective in failing to prescribe the mode of succession in the case of the death of both the President and the Vice-President before the day of their inauguration. The passage reads as follows:

"That this is not an imaginary danger is shown by the fact of the well-known scheme to assassinate Lincoln on his way to the seat of the Government, and also by the fact that either the President or the Vice-President has died in office so many times in the recollection of men now living. President Harrison died during his term; President Taylor died during his term; Vice-President King died during Pierce's term; President Lincoln died during his second term; Vice-President Wilson died during Grant's term; President Garfield died during his term; Vice-President Hendricks died during Cleveland's term; Vice-President Hobart died during McKinley's term; and President McKinley during his own second term. So within sixty years eight of these high officials have died in office; five of them within thirty years; four of them within twenty years. I have also drawn and repeatedly procured the passage through the Senate of an amendment to the Constitution to protect the country against this danger. That (also) has failed of attention in the House. I suppose it is likely that nothing will be done about the matter until the event shall happen, as is not unlikely, that both President and Vice-President-elect shall become incapacitated between the election and the time for entering upon office."

LINCOLN'S CABINET AN ELEMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Not only would many unnecessary fears for the safety of the Republic be dispelled by a realization of the now not even half seen underlying principle of our government, namely, that the Constitution of the United States provides for a one-party government, but the early adoption of that principle would have prevented number-

less woes, including most of those attributable to the inferior quality of elected and appointed officials and party mismanagement and incapacity and worse in public service. This lesson of the succession of Andrew Johnson is particularly timely now. For even if Johnson had fallen with Lincoln, the situation would have been comparable to that when a President is under a disability and the Vice-President is prevented from succeeding by the uncertainty of the duration of that disability or the persistence of the President in retaining control despite his disability. It was certainly considered by the authors of the war soon after April, 1865, that Andrew Johnson was a dog in the manger and under worse than disability so far as the prosecution of the work of reconstructing the nation was concerned. The conflict between the President and Congress was violent. The Republican Party took sides with and gave its most emphatic approval to the course of its Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Republican State Conventions in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania declared against the policy of the President, and affirmed that reconstruction must be effected by "the law-making power of the Government." In not a single State was the President's policy approved by the Republicans. Of course, the opportunist opposition, arrogating to itself the false dignity of the name Democratic party, blind, as usual, to the purpose of the American people to be a nation and to the destiny of The Republican Party to make and keep the United States a nation, united with the President. Now Lincoln left Johnson with a strong cabinet, a circumstance not fortuitous but, as the history of the past sixty years has demonstrated, and no decade more clearly than the last, necessarily integral with Republican administration. The members were William H. Seward, Secretary of State, who was the choice of many as the candidate for President in 1860; Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; W. Dennison, Postmaster-General; J. P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, and James Speed, Attorney-General. To make sure that the cabinet would remain strong, the Republican Congress passed, on March 2, 1867, over the President's veto during the closing hours of the Thirty-ninth Congress, the so-called "Tenure of Office Act," providing that no officer subject to confirmation by the Senate should be removed without the consent of that body, but that during a recess of the Senate any such officer might be removed by the President and a successor appointed, who should act until the end of the next session of the Senate, an act which the Republican Congress, in Grant's first administration, modified in a manner practically destroying without repealing it, but saving the power of the Senate over appointments. It took President Johnson eight months actually to make his removal of Secretary Stanton effectual, and his persistence in the removal came within one vote of causing his own removal from office by a two-thirds vote of the Senate sitting as a court of impeachment.

THE PARTY FIT TO GOVERN SUCCEEDS, AND SUCCEEDS ITSELF

The fact was that for the first time under The Republican Party the United States had a real party government. President Johnson learned that not he as an individual but The Republican Party succeeded the Republican administration headed by Abraham Lincoln up to the time of his death. Lincoln had been opposed by Congress, but he felt himself to be a fellow-worker. It was upon the plan of readmitting the Southern States and their representatives that almost the only important difference between Lincoln and his party occurred. Congress insisted upon the readmission of a State and

its representatives only after a vote of both Houses. The Lincoln theory, adopted by Johnson with modifications, was that the States had never been out of the Union. The issue, though apparently simple, was irreconcilable. Lincoln's position was logical as the basis for his prosecution of the war and was based upon his desire to hold the border States in line and to make ultimate reconciliation less difficult. The Congressional bill for reconstruction which had been adopted in the closing hours of the session and laid before the President was neither signed nor vetoed, and failed to become a law. Senator Sumner afterward declared on the floor of the Senate that President Lincoln had subsequently expressed to him his regret that he did not sign the bill. The Congressional plan of reconstruction was the one carried out and it is numbered as one of the great monuments to the glory of The Republican Party. The Emancipation Proclamation, the Thirteenth Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Fifteenth Amendment were the work of The Republican Party, and the elements of this great program which constituted the real ratification in perpetuity by the whole nation of the results of the war were the work of The Republican Party after the death of Lincoln. The war amendments to the Constitution for the first time imposed upon the State governments the limitations imposed upon the nation in the earlier amendments for the protection of individual rights. Since the States are the places where all the people live, and the State governments those by which their ordinary concerns are affected, these amendments first brought the protections of the Constitution home to the people and made the Constitution a thoroughly vital instrument. The Party Fit To Govern not only succeeds, but succeeds itself. That is the keynote of the purpose of the American people to maintain political liberty under representative government.

NO HIATUS IN GOVERNMENT TOLERABLE OR NECESSARY

The incomparable work on The Republican Party by Francis Curtis contains a very interesting argument, apparently based solidly upon original documents, designed to prove that the so-called party organized by Jefferson under the name Republican was not the predecessor of the so-called Democratic Party. Attention is called by Curtis to the passage in Jefferson's inaugural message reading as follows:

> "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists."

A passage in a letter sent by Jefferson to Dr. Joseph Priestley is also quoted by Curtis, reading as follows:

> "I have been, above all things, solaced by the prospect which opened upon us, in the event of the non-election of a President, in which case the federal government would have been in the situation of a clock or a watch run down. There was no idea of force, nor any occasion for it. A convention invited by the Republican members of Congress, with the virtual President and Vice-President, would have been on the ground in eight weeks, would have repaired the Constitution where it was defective, and wound it up again."

Commenting upon the disposition of President Monroe to bring all into the Republican fold, and upon the adoption in April, 1820, by a Congressional caucus, of Clay's plan to have Congress simply recommend to the people two persons for the respective offices of President and Vice-President, Curtis says:

"This action seems to have been most commendable, and was fully vindicated by the result, for Mr. Monroe received every electoral vote but one, and even that one vote was not a hostile one. It was now evident that for the time being, at least, nearly all the voters of the country were Republicans, including most of the Federalists. It was called 'A great Republican fusion—resulting in an era of good feeling.' The Republicans had abandoned their strict construction policy and adopted the more liberal principles of the Federalists. 'There should be now no difference of parties,' said Josiah Quincy, 'for the Republicans have out-federalized Federalism.' "

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES

Observers, domestic and foreign, Bryce among the number, have asserted that there is no real difference between what they are pleased to call the two great parties in the United States. Democrats, while not engaged in doing their best, whether in or out, to wreck the national government and scuttle the Ship of State, are busily cooing that there is no difference between the parties and that *their* nominees, who usually have applied opiates to intellect and conscience for long periods to keep themselves in line for the opportunities of bad Republican weather when Democrats are so fond of proposing names that seem to indicate brains and character, are superior to the nominees of The Republican Party in public morality and personal independence. The system of the so-called great party labeled "Democratic" provides for perpetual preparedness for political opportunities combined with the creation of such opportunities by a refusal to co-operate in the organization of the government by the majority, by a continual backfire of carping criticism, and by the formulation of false issues in no way related to the work of government. The persistence of the Democratic group on the political horizon is an enigma. A veteran Northern Democrat expressed the allure in this way: "The trouble with the party is that it hasn't any men and it hasn't any principles. But I love it just the same." Grover Cleveland is credited by Martin H. Glynn, former Governor of New York, who delivered the "He Kept Us Out of War" keynote speech in the St. Louis convention of 1916, upon which Wilson ran in that election, with this aphorism, uttered in the last months of his life, after the Democratic party had become the antithesis in men and principles of what he loved: "Whatever your party may do, it is always a mistake to vote for a Republican." Voluntary blindness is a poor guide in public affairs. It certainly takes a blind man to see the use of the so-called Democratic party to-day.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SURRENDERED TO SLAVERY AND WAS DESTROYED IN 1860

The Republican Party stands not for the running down of government viewed with such complacency by Jefferson but for continuity in government and the full vigor at all times of all the functions of all branches of the government. The differences between a government of all Republicans and all Democrats is the difference between national life and national death. The "era of good feeling" when all became "Republicans" in the Jeffersonian sense was followed by forty years of surrender to Slavery. Since that supporting interest itself succumbed there has been no political party as its successor. The use of the name "Democratic Party" is meaningless. The coincidence that the nucleus of the compact minority which uses the name is the political machine

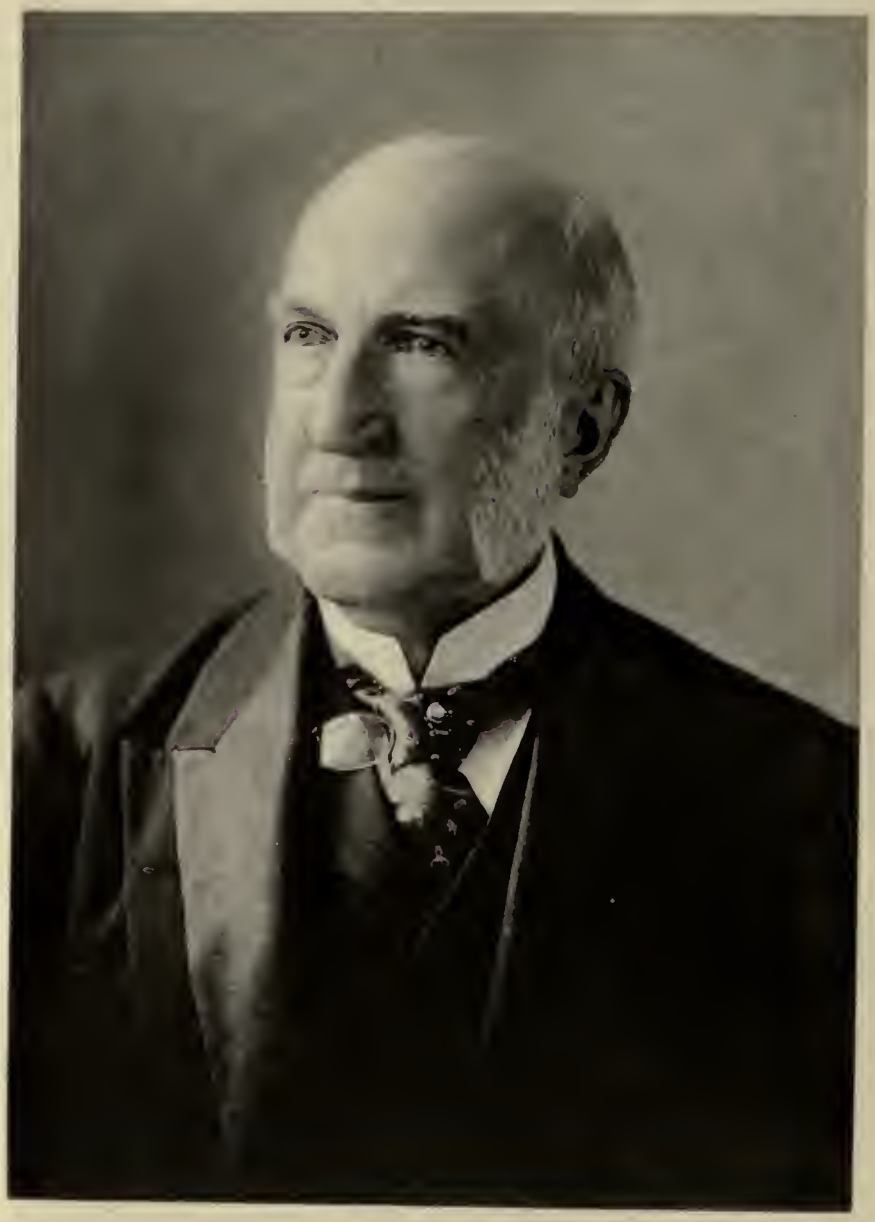
of the Solid South merely illustrates the truth that nothing but the "trick and device" of politics has succeeded to the questionable honor of the name. The answer to the inference left open by Curtis that, since the Jacksonian Democratic party was not the true successor of the earlier Republican party, The Republican Party of Lincoln might lay claim to the honor, is that the Jeffersonian party, during the lifetime of the men who dominated the Democratic party of 1860, exercised not the slightest influence on national politics, and the party must, therefore, be considered to have been completely destroyed, and to have been destroyed by slavery, while The Republican Party of Lincoln destroyed slavery and thereby made itself and the nation indestructible. The only pretext for the assertion that the Democratic party continued to exist is the assumption that it continued to exist as a minority party, the very phrase being a description of an institution which has no part in the work of American government. The tolerance of the existence of a destructive force as a supposedly harmless adjunct is the fatal error of American politics since the War of the Rebellion. From the beginning of our national existence, the proposal of the so-called other great party has been in substance that the nation abdicate its functions. The first great boast was of parochial localism and a congenital incapacity for political action on a large scale; then it was of State localism and sectional localism, and then of subordination of national existence to Slavery. Now machines anathema locally swing national conventions.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN KEPT ALIVE ON SPOILS, HERESIES, AND FALSE ISSUES

"To the victor belong the spoils" was the typical Democratic doctrine contributed to American politics by Andrew Jackson. Consistently down to Wilson and including his "idealist" diplomacy, "deserving Democrats" have been permitted to despoil. The Republican attitude was expressed in President Grant's message on the first Civil Service Commission, created by a Republican Congress. He said:

> "We propose also that in this country the places in the public service shall be restored to those who are found to be fitted for them, and if any one is disposed to think that an abuse of forty years is a law of the Republican system, a little reflection will show him his error."

Lincoln inherited from Buchanan a bankrupt treasury and a nation with impaired credit. Previous to 1861 about sixteen hundred private corporations throughout the country were issuing the bank-note circulation which caused the severest fluctuations and great losses in discount and exchanges. During the war itself a national currency system was established and the national credit restored. The refunding of the national debt and the resumption of specie payments were thus assured. Under Taft, the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act was passed and the Federal Reserve System prepared for adoption. The Democratic program before and after 1861 was one of repudiation of national obligations, and Democratic political opportunity was found in persistent and unintermittent obstruction to the constructive work of The Republican Party to maintain the honor of the nation. Under one cloak or another, Democrats worked for a chance to put into operation the theory of Free Trade which had led the nation into bankruptcy by 1860. This doctrine was based on two characteristic delusions, that the chief object of American industry was the export of cotton for manufacture abroad and the opening of American markets to the products of foreign labor. The classic argument of all time for free trade was made by George



Chauncey M. Depew.

McDuffie of South Carolina, who frankly stated the logical conclusion of nullification. So far did devotion to Slavery lead these "statesmen." It was the protective tariff which financed the war, paid the national debt, and established the credit and prosperity of the nation. No Democratic statesman down to the present time has balked at grasping the issue of Free Trade as the only way of avoiding endorsement of The Republican Idea based upon concern for this country alone. Between the two systems the conflict is as irreconcilable as that between right and wrong. At the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of Seward's "Irreconcilable Conflict," in 1856, in 1860, and in 1864, the same so-called Democrats grasped as an issue the proposal to turn back and to repudiate every obligation of honor, morals, civilization, and statesmanship. Their successors saw in 1896 an issue in their proposal to model the monetary standard as suited the owners of silver mines. And for nearly two years now they have sacrificed the American people to their purpose to make an issue out of their proposal that in the name of a dream of international peace the hundred and twenty millions of Americans in the United States shall abdicate their responsible representative government of the people, by the people, and for the people in favor of the irresponsible representatives of other nations and place the peace of the world, preserved at the price of such costly sacrifice by the American people, in the keeping of those who proved themselves unable to preserve it or bring it back once disturbed. Anything is good enough for an issue of the so-called Democratic party which will lend plausibility to the absurdity entertained by foreigners not gifted with the native-born's instinctive perception that there isn't any real difference between "the two great parties" and afford a background for the assertion of a distinguishing issue at election time. As a matter of fact, there isn't any such thing as a Democratic party. Between elections, the thing labeled "Democratic," whether in or out of office, is a contrivance suffered by a thoughtless public to lie around loose to be grasped by any ambitious person without hope of entrance into politics by membership and service in The Republican Party. Cox was nominated by the Tammany New York had annihilated!

CONSIGNED TO DESTRUCTION BY ITS OWN SUCCESSFUL NOMINEES FOR PRESIDENT

Since the Civil War there have been two incumbents of the Presidency called Democratic. The political career of each brought the conviction even to these party chiefs that there was no Democratic party. Whenever the thoughtlessness of the voters has permitted the country to be visited with a spell of Democrats in office, there has been created a clarifying crisis in which the nation has perceived the true place of The Republican Party in American Government and called it back to avert the threatened shipwreck. Senator Foraker, in nominating McKinley, said:

> "The proud columns that swept the country in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles when put to the test of a practical application have proven delusive fallacies and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of hostile and irreconcilable factions."

The expectant Cleveland, while awaiting his own nomination, said to an intimate just before the news of Blaine's nomination reached him: "Oh, neither Blaine nor Arthur will be nominated. I have observed that in the time of a crisis, the moral sense of The Republican Party comes uppermost. The crisis is here. The Republican situation demands the nomination of Edmunds. Edmunds will be nominated."

What Grover Cleveland said of the moral sense of the Democratic party to any intimate friend in 1896 has never been printed. What the American people thought of it is history. Fairly tried, from 1893 to 1895, the two Democratic Houses and the Democratic President were a "wild team" and a helpless driver. In 1918, with a similar situation, the people turned the government in the middle of the war so far as possible over to The Republican Party by repudiating the Democrats in the Congressional elections, for being "too proud to fight," for "he kept us out of war," and for surrender to a league of the nations we have saved from annihilation! And as, in 1896, the Democrats found a new issue and submitted a proposal for "the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 without awaiting the aid or consent of any other nation" and succumbed for sixteen years of "innocuous desuetude" to the siren speech of the issue's author, so, now, their platform submits as an issue, though the Convention itself didn't believe in it, the Wilson demand, adopted by his proxies in the Convention, that representative government in the United States be abandoned in favor of a super-government of supermen without responsibility to the American people. Now by the united vote of all Americans this so-called party should be relegated to perpetual desuetude or to the class of the petty factions which have gloried in the ephemeral names of Populist, People's, Socialist, and Labor. Was that a true American national political party which stood for Free Silver, for scuttling the Philippines, for Free Trade, for the direct "rule of the people"? In the British system no faction but a patriotic, constructive, co-operating group is tolerated, and nowhere is any other tolerable. And Hobhouse was moved by this fact to invent the truthful description of the "outs" as "His Majesty's Opposition." The "opposition" in the United States is God knows whose! Under a Constitution which prescribes what Senator Evarts called "periodicity," where an administration is seated with responsibility four years off and the political machinery for responsiveness provided in the British system is waived in favor of the indefinable contact with and influence of the people and an insistence upon a settled prospect for a continued period, the continuous and smooth operation of the government is essential to the country's welfare, if not to its continued existence. The American system does not provide, as does the British, for "going to the country" upon every seriously contested issue, nor on any issue whatever. The American people govern under the Constitution through their representatives and they both desire to trust their representatives and are able to keep in touch with them. In American politics a man who carries an issue about his person is a fit object for suspicion and a faction which hatches up an issue for the purpose of being placed in control of the national government through espousing it is a menace to the country. The Republican Party was not established upon an issue. As the nation was saved by "postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy" as urged by the convention "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854, so it is always to be saved by the elimination of so-called issues from elections, where the opposition has consistently intricated fact and fiction, and by leaving to the contest of the Executive, the two Houses, and Senators and Representatives among themselves, the settlement of "all differences with regard to political economy or administration." The destruction of Slavery was worthy of being ranked with any issue since discussed, yet the actual destruction was incidental to the work of The Republican Party in serving and saving the nation itself. For twenty-four years, or six four-year terms, after 1860, the only result of the national elections was to give the

opposition power in Congress. For the years 1875 to 1880 the House was Democratic, and in 1879 and 1880 the Senate was Democratic also. From 1883 to 1888, and 1891 to 1894, the House was again Democratic, and in 1893 and 1894 the Senate was Democratic also. In 1895 and 1896 there was no party majority in the Senate and the House was Republican, the President being a Democrat from 1892 to 1896. From 1897 to 1912 The Republican Party served the country without hindrance from the opposition, except that offered by an impotent Democratic majority in the House of Representatives from 1910 to 1912. In 1912, by reason of a defection from The Republican Party, the opposition, and with a minority vote, again had the Executive and both Houses. Despite the power attained by the opposition in the Democratic victories from 1875 to 1912, the only legislation produced by that so-called party was the Wilson-Gorman tariff, in force only from 1894 to 1897, which the Democratic President refused to sign and denounced as "party perfidy and dishonor"; and the New York *World,* just before the election in 1912, declared that The Republican Party alone had produced any legislation since the Civil War, and on the morning of November 6, 1912, this Democratic organ declared:

> "Under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson the Democratic party has won its greatest victory since 1852."

It may now be safely added that seven years of the leadership of Woodrow Wilson have left the Democratic party more discredited than by the election of 1860. The question may, therefore, be asked: "Who wins when the Democratic party has a victory?" That the American people didn't "win with Wilson" was admitted by the same Democratic New York *World* on the eve of the disastrous inauguration of the "rule of the people." On March 3, 1913, the day before President Taft was to yield office to President Wilson, *The World* said:

> "Sixteen years ago, with William McKinley at its head, The Republican Party was restored to power. It has been supreme in all departments of government during that time except for the last two years in the House of Representatives. It carried four national elections by tremendous pluralities. It polled in 1908 for William H. Taft the greatest vote ever thrown for a Presidential candidate. It goes out of office to-morrow a third party, its candidate the choice of but two small States, its ranks broken, its leaders implacably hostile to each other."
>
> "Yet this once invincible organization has a wonderful record of achievement which its successor must not belittle. During those sixteen years, with Democratic assistance it is true, the Republicans have established the gold standard, carried on the war with Spain, kept faith with Cuba, liberalized the government of the Philippines and Porto Rico, constructed the Panama Canal, given us postal savings banks, rural free delivery, the parcel post, new railroad-rate laws and enlightened labor laws, extended to some extent the principle of international arbitration, and during the administration now closing, enforced vigorously for the first time the civil and criminal law against trusts.
>
> "To Mr. Taft personally belongs the credit of upholding in the face of many obstacles, ideas of economy and of carrying to success in Congress his proposition in favor of Canadian reciprocity. By the one he has given the people of all parties lessons, of lasting value, we hope, on the subject of governmental

extravagance. By the other he conducted a campaign of education against the folly and waste of tariff wars between neighboring nations, which cannot fail to add much to public enlightenment."

What a commentary on the folly of a "split" from The Republican Party! What an argument for the "Democratic minority" taking its place as an integral part of the one great national party! What an answer, supplemented by the lessons of the Wilson years, to the rule of an autocrat with the cry of "the rule of the people."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS NOT MADE A REAL ISSUE AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SINCE THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

What have been called issues were not settled in any of the elections except that of 1860. The Republican Party had kept on steadily, whether in complete or partial control of the Government or in the minority, at its work of building up the nation. The existence of "periodicity" is not perceived during a Republican administration, but what an age the period of four years can seem with a Democratic prophet elected upon an issue already disowned in his own house trying to run the government! Cleveland repudiated the Democratic Congress and the Democratic party repudiated Cleveland. With a renomination in view, Wilson, from 1914 to 1917, dared not stand for American rights against the Democratic Congress, conducted his campaign upon the promise that he would make good his boast that "he kept us out of war," and immediately after his second inauguration cast aside the Democratic majorities in Senate and House, and admitted that the Republican minorities had been right from the beginning. And in the Congressional elections of 1918, the people showed that they had discovered that it was The Republican Party, even in the minority, which was standing for the nation, and they met the President's second appeal to stand by the President with a vote that meant that they were going to stand by the nation, and that to do so they must stand by The Republican Party. The people are not looking for "periodic" issues; that is the trade of the so-called Democratic party; what the people want is responsiveness, not three years late and for campaign purposes only, but immediate and sincere; and it is clear now that the Democratic use for issues is merely to throw them as dust in the eyes of the voters. In the Solid South, where the Democratic party is known for what it is, namely, a political device to put and keep the South in the saddle, there are no issues and there are no elections. Contests purely local and personal are decided in a primary. The election merely ratifies the result of the primary. The Senator or the Representative represents neither party nor principle, but only one thing, and that is the Solid South. An issue is looked upon in the South as a plant not grown in Southern soil or safe to cultivate among the Southern brethren, whose growth, however, is fostered in the North by the South and its political agents there to tangle the feet of the politically unwary. The so-called Democratic party, therefore, ekes out its precarious existence by refusing to become national. Its strong men, however, have often risen above party and the protest of Southern statesmen to-day against the Wilson divine right to "keep us out of peace" shows that American statesmanship no longer knows State or sectional lines and that the day of the party based upon "States' Rights" and "Sectionalism" is past. Its entire history, and none more clearly than its recent history, is a confession that only one national party is necessary and that The Republican Party is the only "Party Fit To Govern" in the United States. Cox stands for the worst elements in the Democratic past.

THE PLATFORM PRETEXTS FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS HIGH-SOUNDING BUT FRIVOLOUS

The so-called Democratic platforms, from 1856 to 1920, have been absurdities pure and simple. The first three, which amounted to nothing less than treason, have already been examined. It is to be assumed that a political party takes full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the drafting of a platform to justify its existence. The so-called Democratic party has never been able to do so. The best that may be said for the attempts at justification embodied in the so-called Democratic platforms is that they have always represented the views of an insignificant minority of Republicans. In 1868, for example, the Democratic platform tendered to Andrew Johnson the thanks of the so-called Democratic party for his efforts in resisting the aggressions of the Republican Congress, to wit, the representatives of the loyal North, and their resolute program for completing the work of saving the nation. The so-called Democratic platform of 1872 was introduced by the following paragraph:

> "We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government."

The principles referred to in the above resolution were incorporated in the so-called Liberal Republican Platform, adopted at a convention held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 1, 1872, to nominate Horace Greeley, of New York, for President and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. The so-called Democratic Convention of 1872, held at Baltimore, July 9, 1872, nominated the same candidates and adopted their platform. The vote for the Republican electors in 1872 was 3,597,070, for the Democratic 29,408, for the others, including the Liberal Republican electors, 2,839,687. Both the people and the so-called Democratic party decided in 1872 that there was no necessity for the existence of the so-called Democratic party. In 1876 the Democratic party did nominate candidates. The platform, however, proposed nothing either new or constructive. It was all for reform. It said:

> "Reform can be had only by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men."

The thoroughgoing quality of the revolutionary reform proposed to be brought about by the so-called Democratic party, if put in power by the election of 1876, may be judged from the high-sounding thunder of approval with which the platform rewarded the tremendous efforts of the Democrats in control of the House of Representatives from 1875 to 1876. This peacefully revolutionary convention resolved as follows:

> "*Resolved,* That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the present House of Representatives in *reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices* and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country."

The manufacturing plant whose payroll would not exceed to-day what these constructive revolutionists thought their party had saved the country up to 1876 would be small indeed. And there is probably no payroll of any American manufacturing plant to-day which would be in existence, at least in the United States, if the so-called Democratic party had been permitted to put into operation the tariff theories proposed as a part of its peaceful revolution of reform.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE OF 1880 CALLED THE TARIFF "A LOCAL ISSUE"

The so-called Democratic party has never admitted that its candidates of 1876 were defeated. The platform of 1880 proposed that the people punish in 1880 "this crime" of declaring Hayes to be elected President, to which "the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in the firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880," which issue "precedes and dwarfs every other." But the convention neglected to give the people the opportunity to punish, for, instead of renominating Tilden, who didn't happen to own the nominating machinery at the time, the convention sent "the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens" after him into "the retirement" he had "chosen for himself," and assured the peaceful revolution in tariff reform by nominating in the place of Tilden that handsome warrior-statesman, General Hancock, who waved aside the tariff by declaring it a "local issue." Hancock was right. The Democratic tariff issue is and always has been local and its habitat is the Solid South and the British Empire.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FROM 1884 TO 1892 PROMISED PROTECTION THROUGH THE "TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY" OF A FREE TRADE PARTY

The Democratic platform of 1884 submitted the "great issue of reform and change in administration" to the people, expressed regret that Tilden could not be induced to permit the people to vote in 1884 upon the "crime" of 1876, attempted to reassure "interests" that reduction of the tariff would not hurt them or reduce wages, called The Republican Party "a reminiscence, so far as principle is concerned" and the protector of the interests controlling its machinery. It is always a virtue of the Democracy that it has no machinery and no cohesiveness. The Republican Party, however, for the twenty-eight years of its existence had had, according to the Democratic platform, too much unifying machinery, as a result of which circumstance, "during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power" it had "steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity, its platform promises being now a list of its past failures." This was the best judgment of the convention which nominated Grover Cleveland, who had said a few weeks before that "in the time of crisis the moral sense of The Republican Party always comes uppermost," to lead a tariff reform which tapered down from the Free Trade Mills Bill passed by the Democratic House to the passage of the Republican Senate's amendments to the internal revenue law. It was the same Cleveland who, having straddled the tariff in 1892 in order to elect himself and a Free Trade Congress on the Protection promises in his letter of acceptance, before 1896 was obliged to give up the so-called Democratic party and its best effort on the tariff in disgust and chagrin. But even Cleveland would revolt at the Wilson surrender Cox swallows.

John Hay

THE DEMOCRATS INCONSISTENT NULLIFIERS ON THE TARIFF

Every bit of tariff legislation in force from 1861 to 1894 had been enacted by The Republican Party. The Democratic platform of 1888 had declared that "our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered," and submitting its "principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people," promised to "promote the advantage of American labor by cheapening the cost of necessaries of life" by opening American markets to the products of foreign labor, "and at the same time securing to every American workingman steady and remunerative employment," presumably in foreign factories. The intelligent suffrages saw the point and, desiring a "full dinner-pail" for American labor, elected Harrison instead of Cleveland and also elected a Republican Congress. It was probably this experience and the enactment of the McKinley Tariff by the Republicans that caused the Democratic platform of 1892 to "declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government has no Constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for revenue only." The tariff being "a local issue," this declaration went back to the nullification threats of 1832, and abandoned the ambition of the Democratic platform of 1888 to "promote the advantage of American labor." The Supreme Court of the United States did decide that the internal revenue amendment of the Democratic tariff act of 1894 *was* unconstitutional, but Cleveland, the Democratic President, permitted it to become a law. The author of the tariff provisions, William L. Wilson, in apologizing for the Gorman-Wilson bill, admitted that only a slight breach had been made by the Democratic Congress in the wall of Republican protection, and could only urge that the bill was not as bad as the McKinley bill. Yet Cleveland, the Democratic President, though elected on a platform which denounced a provision for protection in a tariff bill to be a violation of the Constitution, and though convinced, as he wrote, that the measure had been passed in response to questionable influences and was so bad that he refused to sign it, did not veto the bill but permitted it to become a law. Senator Mills, the author of the Mills bill, condemned the Gorman-Wilson tariff. It was, in substance, an attack on American manufacturers, with protection for foreign importers, which sort of protection the Democratic party has always considered justified by the Constitution.

SINCE 1896 SUCCESSIVE FAKE "PARAMOUNT" ISSUES HAVE SIDE-TRACKED THE GREAT STAND-BY TARIFF HOAX OF AMBITIOUS DEMOCRATS

The Democratic platform of 1896 frankly declared the Democratic party to be the national purveyor of those nostrums called paramount issues. Having demonstrated utter incapacity for framing a tariff bill during two years of control of all branches of the government, the Democrats, in 1896, gave up the tariff in disgust as the paramount issue and never have returned to it as such since. The platform of 1896 declared as follows:

> "Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others, . . . until the money question is settled, we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax."

THE "BURNING ISSUES" OF FREE SILVER AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

The money question was soon settled by the election of William McKinley and a Republican Senate and House of Representatives and the enactment of the Dingley Tariff. Yet, though the House was again on fire, the Democrats, despite the extreme provocation the Dingley law must be considered to have been, put the fundamental Constitutional and economic question of the tariff aside in favor of another paramount issue. After predicting dire results as a consequence of our occupation of the Philippines, the Democratic platform of 1900 proceeded as follows:

> "The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization nor to convert the Republic into an Empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the purpose to give the Filipinos . . . independence. . . . We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

"THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

> "The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is nowise diminished and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the *burning issue of Imperialism* growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign."

How the then uncaptured Aguinaldo and the then not yet Secretary of State Bryan would laugh if the one read these platform utterances of 1900 to the other to-day! Imperialism perished as an issue the day after the election of November, 1900. It was, to be sure, reiterated in the Democratic platform of 1904, along with the other Democratic cadavers. But that meant nothing. The free and unlimited coinage of silver plank of 1896 was actually reiterated in the Democratic platform of 1900.

DEMOCRATIC DUPLICITY ON SOUND MONEY

In the Democratic convention of 1904, the "gold" plank was struck out upon the demand of the "free silver" men. Correctly interpreting this move, the nominee as a candidate of the Democratic party for President, Alton B. Parker, telegraphed to the convention that he would not accept the nomination otherwise than as an advocate of the gold standard. The convention voted, 774 to 191, to send to Judge Parker the following message:

> "The platform adopted by this convention is silent on the question of the monetary standard, because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in this campaign."

Yet in 1908 the prophet of "free silver," William Jennings Bryan, was nominated, and in 1912, his choice, Woodrow Wilson, was nominated over the first choice of a large majority of the delegates on many ballots, and Bryan was named as Wilson's Secretary of State. One of the early products of the Democratic Senate and House of Representatives was the Owens-Glass perversion of the work of Republicans under the

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J G Blaine

lead of Senator Aldrich for an elastic currency system, by which, as Senator Root objected at the time, the limit of note issues was taken off, changing elasticity into the gross inflation in which Bryan and his "free silver" crew should have great joy.

DEMOCRATIC FALSE PRETENSE OF PROTECTION THROUGH RECIPROCITY

The Democratic platform of 1904 bore the unmistakable impress of the genius of Bryan in the veracious statement:

"Protection is a robbery of the many for the benefit of the few."

But with characteristic Democratic logic, the same platform declared for that extension of the theory of protection which is associated with the name of the Republican statesman whom the Democrats assailed more bitterly and more unjustly than any of the other victims of their unspeakably dishonest system of assassinating Americanism wherever it holds its head high, whether in individuals or The Republican Party. Contradicting their denunciation of Blaine, their nullification theory that protection violates the Constitution, and their "tariff for revenue only" pretense, they adopted a plank favoring Reciprocity as follows:

"We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining, or commerce."

Reciprocity treaties, provided for by the Republicans under the McKinley law, were concluded and proclaimed in the administration of President Harrison by James G. Blaine as Secretary of State, as follows: With Brazil, February 5, 1891; with Spain, for Cuba and Porto Rico, July 31st; with Santo Domingo, August 1st; with Salvador, December 31st; with Great Britain, for British Guiana, Trinidad, Tobago, Barbadoes, and the Leeward and Windward Islands, excepting Grenada, February 1, 1892; with Germany, February 1st, with Nicaragua, March 12th; with Honduras, April 12th; with Guatemala, May 18th; and with Austria-Hungary, May 26th. The Democratic platform, adopted June 21, 1892, denounced these treaties as "sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges, by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose exports are almost exclusively agricultural products, with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people."

The Democratic House of Representatives, elected in 1910, drafted and passed tariff bills purely sectional which disclosed on their face the purpose of the Democratic party to deny protection of any sort to American industry. The purpose to give supplemental aid to protection by reciprocity conventions was not disclosed. The preceding Republican Congress provided for a tariff commission but the Democratic theory of tariff legislation requires no knowledge or investigation and the next Democratic House refused to provide this commission with funds. The Congress, of which both branches were Democratic, that went in with Woodrow Wilson enacted in the Simmons-Underwood bill a tariff which disregarded absolutely the scheme of reciprocal trade agreements, and Mr. Underwood repeatedly declared that the bill was based upon

the purpose to make impossible any profit thereunder to any American industry. It took no less a cataclysm than the World War to save the nation from the disaster that was impending under the Simmons-Underwood tariff.

"THE DEMOCRACY" A PERPETUAL FALSE ALARM

The consistent design of the Democrats with respect to the tariff and currency legislation has been that of William Jennings Bryan when he advised Democratic Senators to vote to ratify the Philippine Treaty so that the Democrats could make the "Imperialism" created by such ratification an issue in the approaching campaign, when he resisted the movement of the Republicans to attain bimetallism by international arrangement in order that he might lash the country into a frenzy of hysteria upon the issue of "the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 without awaiting the aid or consent of any other nation," and when he deplored agitation in favor of Prohibition in 1916 upon the plea that he was saving the movement up for a paramount issue in 1920.

That design, with the purpose to serve the Solid South at the expense of the rest of the country, tells the whole story of the series of nostrums called Democratic issues. In 1908 the Democrats did not confine themselves to one paramount issue but put out a whole line of nostrums. The guarantee of bank deposits, the limiting of production by any corporation to the arbitrary amount of fifty per cent. of the total product, the illusory bait to the labor vote of the promise to secure by class legislation the complete exemption of labor organizations of whatever kind from the summary jurisdiction of courts of equity and the removal, thus, of both the only adequate protection of law and order and the only guarantee of the just settlement of industrial disputes, and the arbitrary classification of all railroads as either interstate or local, are some of the so-called issues with which the so-called great national Democratic party disturbed the rest and confidence of the country in 1908. When the Democratic convention speaks it is always with the accompaniment of fire-bells. The house is always burning and the Democrats, while denying that they have themselves set the conflagrations, always insist that they were the first on the scene. But they have never sounded a note, uttered a cry, or made an issue which did not turn out to be a false alarm. By Democratic victory the proof has been made the more clear. The Republican Party, on the other hand, has for sixty years continuously maintained a reputation which has remained a talisman for confidence, national unity, and settled prosperity. It is safe to say that no single cause has contributed more to the miseries that have from time to time befallen this nation than the continued existence of the nominating machinery falsely labeled as the Democratic party. Every conceivable excuse and pretext for the justification of this everlasting menace to the welfare of the American people has been exhausted. The system stands to-day convicted without the possibility of any plea even of extenuating circumstances. Let the Republican landslide this year mark the end of the folly.

WILSON'S AUTOCRATIC RULE OBTAINED ON THE "RULE OF THE PEOPLE" ISSUE AND SUSTAINED BY THE ANNIHILATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE DENIAL OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF "STATES' RIGHTS"

It remained for Woodrow Wilson to shatter the myth of the militant Democracy. Every Democratic platform from 1830 on pre-empted the rôle of trust in the people for the so-called Democratic party. It remained for the Convention of 1912 to disclose

that this trust was the assumed subjective trust of the people in the so-called Democratic party as an irresponsible agency to carry on the government combined with a similarly subjective distrust of the same "dear people" for The Republican Party. The Democratic platform of 1912, in despair of divorcing The Republican Party from its direct contact with the people through elected representatives, denounced all trust in party government. The paramount issue of Woodrow Wilson was set forth as follows:

"RULE OF THE PEOPLE

"We direct attention to the fact that the Democratic Party's demand for a return to the rule of the people expressed in the national platform of four years ago has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that ONLY BY A LARGER EXERCISE OF THE RESERVED POWER OF THE PEOPLE CAN THEY PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM THE MISUSE OF DELEGATED POWER AND THE USURPATION OF DELEGATED POWER BY SPECIAL INTERESTS. . . . The Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud, and machine rule in American politics can be effected."

Thus came the so-called Democratic party to an end. The only intelligible theory it ever represented was the one reiterated in the Democratic platform of 1912, namely, that "the reserved power of the people" must be exercised through the governments of the States. In the actual application of this theory by its exponents, it has always meant "the governments of the States of the Solid South." The unit rule and the two-thirds rule in Democratic conventions ensure this application. The proportion of "the people" represented by these States, with their allotted power in Congress and in the Electoral College, had become, at the time of the last census, without taking into account the circumstance that by the practical disfranchisement of the negro the actual voting population of the Southern States was greatly reduced, as follows:

THE SECTIONS IN 1910–1913

	Population	Senate	House	Electoral Vote
The South	29,187,008	30	135	165
The Northwest	29,888,542	24	143	167
The Middle States	19,518,214	8	92	100
New England	6,825,821	12	32	44
The Pacific States	6,552,681	22	33	55
Total	91,972,266	96	435	531

But the preservation of the system by which little more than one-half the population of States having a total of less than one-third of the entire population of the country might rule the entire country was not the aim of the purposeful nominee of the machinery justified by the trust of the people in its masters. Nothing better illustrates the deception Woodrow Wilson practised upon the people when he bade them to gaze longingly on the prospect of taking in their teeth the bit of direct exercise of "the reserved power of the people" than the dog fable made a classic in American politics

by Thomas B. Reed in his application of it to the lure of the world markets held before the American people for over a hundred years by the representatives of the Solid South. Mr. Reed said:

> "Once there was a dog. He was a nice little dog. Nothing the matter with him except a few foolish Free-Trade notions in his head. He was trotting along as happy as the day, for he had in his mouth a nice shoulder of succulent mutton. By and by he came to a stream bridged by a plank. He trotted along, and, looking over the side of the plank, he saw the markets of the world and dived for them. A minute after he was crawling up the bank, the wettest, nastiest, and most muttonless dog that ever swam ashore."

"DEMOCRACY" TAPERED FROM OLIGARCHY TO AUTOCRACY

When Woodrow Wilson proposed that the people exercise the reserved power directly, what he meant and intended was that they take it away from their representatives, and what the people discovered when they looked for this power was that Woodrow Wilson was exercising it, by such withdrawal of it from the people, directly himself. The term of the members of the Sixty-fifth Congress began on the same day with the second term of Woodrow Wilson, March 4, 1917. The new Congress was composed of 53 Democrats and 42 Republicans in the Senate, and 216 Democrats, 210 Republicans, 2 Progressives, 1 Prohibitionist, 1 Socialist, and 2 Independents in the House, with three vacancies. To the retiring Congress, more strongly Democratic, the President had delivered February 26, 1917, an address recommending "armed neutrality." He called the new Congress in extra session about thirty days after his second inauguration and, without previous warning of or consultation with Congress, himself in effect made the declaration of war upon which it was their exclusive province to decide, and for which it would have been their duty had they not been lulled into security by him, as it had been his duty knowing of the prospect of war, to prepare. From the beginning of the European struggle the Republican minorities had been insistent on the protection of American rights, the maintenance of American honor, and the performance of the duty of the United States in the circumstances. The Democratic majorities and the President had resisted the pressure of the Republican minorities for action. When, after long delay, permitted to pass not only without planning or preparing for action but in inhibiting action by Congress and the people, the President assumed the position advocated by Republicans, the Republican Congress maintained, as it had throughout the European crisis, the attitude of absolute loyalty and sincere desire to stand by the President. But when, in the fall of 1918, the campaign for re-election to Congress was on, the President challenged the people not to make a choice of representatives, and not to vote for the Republicans who had upheld him but for the candidates of the party which had followed grudgingly into the movement for the maintenance of American rights. The mandate of the President was that not the people but he should rule. The "rule of the people" slogan by which Wilson attained the Presidency was meant precisely as the "trust of the people" was in 1860, when the Democratic party prohibited slavery agitation. In the one case the people were imposed upon by oligarchs, in the other by an autocrat. To trace the course of events during which Woodrow Wilson showed himself an autocrat bent upon forcing the American people to abdicate first temporarily to him and then in perpetuity to a super-

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government conceived by him and to be controlled by nations other than the United States would be as tedious and unpleasant as it would be unnecessary. It suffices to ask and to answer briefly the question to what the continued existence of the so-called Democratic party leads and to show the imperious necessity of the complete destruction of that party and the system it represents and to classify properly its supporters. Cox, not opposing the Wilson surrender, promises a worse one.

THE OPPOSITION TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOW INEVITABLY THE ADJUNCT OF BOLSHEVISM

The so-called Democratic party promises to become nothing but the nominating machinery of the cowardly and dishonest element among socialists. A man who honestly believes that a government which owns all the property and all the people is a good government and says so may be respected for his candor, although pitied as of defective intellect. Such a man believes in "the rule of the people" as defined in the practice of Woodrow Wilson. The "for the people" and "by the people" of Lincoln made the kind of popular government established by The Republican Party clear. The Wilson construction would require full expression as follows: a government of the people by the government and for the government, the President being the whole government. Any man who takes a Democratic nomination accepts this and Cox has. The definition is not limitable to the autocratic attitude of Woodrow Wilson. Despite the characteristic design of Democratic politicians to make it appear for campaign purposes that President Wilson does not correctly represent the Democratic theory of government, the fact is that he is a perfect embodiment thereof. That the personal peculiarities of Woodrow Wilson bulk large on the political horizon to-day is in keeping with the tradition of the so-called Democracy that each successive manifestation of the so-called Democratic idea shall constitute the greatest menace possible at the time. Upon the assumption that unrest is the order of the day, the so-called Democracy has set its sails for every fetid breath of disloyalty current in the atmosphere. It sails silently along, a pirate ship flying the colors of constituted authority, constantly on the lookout for an opportunity to scuttle civilized society. To disguise its piratical character by carrying a charter from well-intentioned persons and a full set of regular documents is part and parcel of the policy of the adventurers of the black flag. The greatest need of to-day is straight thinking. It is a crime for any honest American to be uninformed. The true believers in a republican form of government should be gathered together under one standard; the only other is that of socialism, and all opposed to a republican form of government should be herded together under it. The so-called Americans who harbor the sentiments of socialism, bolshevism, or communism should be made to display the black flag when they skulk and the red flag of anarchy when they stand forth in their true colors. Now or never, once and for all, the decent men of organized society must wrest the red, white, and blue from the masthead of the so-called Democratic party. Cox abhors "repression" of terrorism!

THE "DEMOCRATS" ISSUE A SOVIET MANIFESTO IN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

This need has been seen before but not clearly, although the evidence in the case has long since all been in and has been submitted to the American people. Now the time has come when the problem must be faced with courage. Until the day of Soviets and

Bolshevism and the specious pretext for autocracy set up by Lenine and Trotzky, the tenets of the so-called Democratic party were not viewed in the light of their ultimate objects and logical consequences. These tenets were, however, clearly set forth in the Democratic national platform of 1908 in the concluding paragraph, as follows:

"CONCLUSION

"The Democratic party stands for Democracy; The Republican Party has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic. The Democratic party is the champion of equal rights and opportunities to all; The Republican Party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and advancement of the average man; The Republican Party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism. We invite the co-operation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and who favor SUCH AN ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT AS WILL INSURE, AS FAR AS HUMAN WISDOM CAN, THAT EACH CITIZEN SHALL DRAW FROM SOCIETY A REWARD COMMENSURATE WITH HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF SOCIETY."

The promise was held out to what the Democratic platforms are pleased to call "labor" that no acts of that special class or anybody pretending to act as its representative or as a member of the class should be enjoined by any Federal court or judge and that no "labor" organization should be subject to be regarded as an illegal combination in restraint of trade. The Democratic platforms of 1896, 1904, 1908, and 1912 made the same promise to "labor" with regard to immunity from restraint. The platforms of 1908 and 1912 held out the promise of unlimited right of organization without regard to the principles of law applicable to combinations and conspiracies. The administration elected on the Democratic platform of 1912 has since that time led "labor" around the vicious circle which begins with surrender to any demands of "organized labor" for higher wages and ends with the withdrawal of more than the increase from the purchasing power of the new wages and an actual reduction of the purchasing power of the wages of labor, organized and unorganized. The conditions of the war saved "labor," the country, and the Wilson administration from the consequences of this policy as in the case of the tariff policy embodied in the Simmons-Underwood bill. The deluge has been held back but the flood is now ready to burst.

The self-appreciation expressed in the Republican platform of 1908 as a reply to the Democratic declaration seemed at the time sufficient. But the need of to-day is not partisan self-praise but a general alarm. If the reply of the Republican platform of 1908 was true then, that truth cries out for arresting utterance now. The plank reads as follows:

"REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY CONTRASTED

"We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by The Republican Party could be inaugurated and none of the forward steps here proposed could be taken under a Democratic administration, nor under one in which the party responsibility is divided. The continuance of the present policies absolutely requires the continuance

in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

"Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between The Republican Party and its chief opponent which make one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust. In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stood for debased currency, the other for honest money; the one for free silver, the other for honest currency; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for expansion. One has been forced to abandon every position it has taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

"In experience the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one means adversity, while the other means prosperity. One means low wages, the other means high wages. One means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

"In principle the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose. One stands for obstruction, the other for construction. One promises, the other performs. One finds fault, the other finds work. The present tendencies of the two parties are more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while The Republican Party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take, Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of position which would soon leave no one anything to possess. Republicanism would give equality to each; it would assure to each his share of the constantly increasing sum of possession.

"In line with this tendency the Democratic party to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican party believes in government legislation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

"Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of political differences, unite in a desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings, and make secure the achievements of a greater America."

If the Democratic party is to reassert the principles enunciated in its recent platforms, it will stand as the party of socialism; if it turns its back on its recent past, it should be logical and admit that such action was dictated by the necessity for the union of all constructive forces against the menace of socialism. And it cannot lead!

THE SOLID SOUTH SHOULD BECOME WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY REPUBLICAN

In the campaign of 1908, Mr. Taft exposed the secret of the continued existence of the Democratic party in the adherence of Southern voters to a mere name in the face of their realization that it is now used merely as a cloak for sinister designs and disastrous purposes.

What William H. Taft said at Chattanooga, Tennessee, October 16, 1908, is as true to-day as it was then and is now more pregnant with meaning. He said:

> "The enormous industrial expansion of the South which has taken place since 1895, and largely under the auspices of Republican administration, ought, it seems to me, to demonstrate to the thoughtful men of the South that their logical position is in the party which makes such prosperity possible. Right here in the centre of the manufacturing industries of the South, does it need an argument to convince you that the protective system is absolutely necessary to the continuance and maintenance of your prosperity? I know how that thing is adjusted. The Congressmen that represent each district are in favor of free trade for every other State, but they are in favor of protection for their own particular spot. A Democratic Congressman down in the southwestern part of Missouri feels that they need a little protection for zinc, and is in favor of the protection of zinc against Mexico, but is for free trade in everything else. I think you ought to come over to the party that is in favor of distributing the favors of protection all over the country in order to maintain all the industries of the country as they have been maintained by the system of protection. There are a great many men in the South, and doubtless within the sound of my voice, who are strictly Democrats. They are to be divided into three classes. The first class are going to vote for me. The second class are not going to vote at all. And the third class are going to vote for my opponent and hope that I will be elected. I think, my friends, that you know, as I know, that that is a fair statement. So I have come here to see if I cannot convince the two latter classes that what they ought to do is to come right out and take their first cold bath in leaving historic tradition that is naturally dear to their hearts and come right into the party whose principles they approve."

The persistence of the Solid South as the nucleus of the so-called Democratic party is a perfect illustration of what is called in literary composition "the pathetic fallacy," which consists in attributing feeling to inanimate objects, such as trees and fields. The ante-bellum Solid South has long been a thing of the dead past. To keep it in politics as a unit to the detriment of the people of the South and of the whole nation is a political fallacy that is indeed pathetic.

As The Republican Party was formed by all who wished to save the nation in 1860 and stood loyal and united behind the President in the world war, and thereby the whole nation fused into one working body for the salvation of civilization, our common welfare, and the national honor, so North and South and East and West should stand to-day and evermore in an adamantine union of all the people of the United States, a wall against the progress of Socialism, Bolshevism, and Communism, shutting out of political power all professional organizers of discontent and from political activity all who are unwilling to stand forth in their true character as enemies of the Republic. An invitation to the Solid South to take its place in the councils of The Republican Party was issued May 25, 1920, by Senator Lodge in the following statement:

> "The spirit of national unity is vital to the United States. It has been the dearest hope of all right-thinking men ever since the civil war to see that spirit rule throughout the country. Wonderfully developed by the few months of the

Spanish war, it has become under the stress of the great war with Germany stronger and more vivid than ever, and should be cultivated by all men and women and by all parties.

"We are now confronted by the gravest problems, at home and abroad, which this country has ever faced except in days of war. For their successful solution we must have the keenest sense of national unity everywhere. We must all deal with these problems as Americans and without any sensational leanings or prejudices. The Republican Party should make its appeal, North and South, East and West, to all Americans who love their country, without regard to section or difference of long ago, now happily dispersed and gone, we believe, forever."

THE DEMOCRATS ARE NOW WITHOUT AN ISSUE

If there is one thing certain, it is that Woodrow Wilson will cease to be President after March 4, 1921. It is not less certain that the Democratic platform was imposed upon the convention by Woodrow Wilson. The power to do this was derived not only from the President's control of office-holder delegates, but also from the impossibility in which all the delegates found themselves of endorsing The Republican Platform by repudiating the Democratic administration. It is quite certain, also, that as a matter of policy the convention was under the necessity of nominating as standard-bearer a statesman acceptable to the opponents of Wilson in the convention and among the voters. This need was so imperious that only conflicting counsels of policy prevented the Democratic delegates from responding to the true demand of the people by endorsing the nominee of The Republican Convention. The Democrats went as far in that direction as they could and tried to find a candidate as unlike Wilson and as like Harding as possible. What they did was to attempt to avoid the issue made by the nomination of Harding. But even if the Democratic candidate could carry out the pose, the attendant Democrats would soon betray the disguise and disclose the imposture. And this they will not be slow to do. The pitcher of ice-water on the table for the audience to see while the backers on the stage view the protruding bottle on the hip, kissing the stars and stripes while pledging devotion to the un-American League of Nations Covenant, and blinking the red flag while quoting the Constitution of the United States, may be excellent political expedients, but even such a successful straddler as the Democratic candidate can find in them no issue against The Republican Party. The Republicans, on the contrary, will find weighty arguments in their favor in every utterance of the Democratic candidates. Indeed, former Democratic voters may be relied upon by the Republicans to see the point without argument. The forgery in the Democratic platform of an article attributed to Senator Lodge with date and context changed and the denial to the late Senator Aldrich and The Republican Party of the authorship of the Federal Reserve Act, conceded even by the Democratic *New York Times,* as well as of the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act by which the exigencies of the outbreak of the World War were met, have already lost the Democratic campaign the respect of the voters, leaving Cox Pro-Germanism out.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARAMOUNT ISSUE OF 1920 DEAD BEFORE THE CONVENTION ADJOURNED

Just as, in 1896, William Jennings Bryan commanded that agitation of the tariff issue be postponed until the Free Silver battle should be won, so Woodrow Wilson suppressed, in 1920, platform utterances upon former burning issues in order that the

League of Nations issue might be made paramount. But the convention nominated as protagonist for this issue a man who had written down his doubt that the issue was worth fighting for. In an article in the *New York Times* of May 23, 1920, James M. Cox wrote the following paragraph:

> "The important thing now is to enable the world to go to work, but the beginning must not be on the soft sands of an unsound plan. If this question passes to the next Administration there should be no fetich developed over past differenecs. Yet at the same time there must be no surrender of vital prineiple. It may be necessary, if partition and reparation require ehanging, to assemble representatives of the people making up the nations of the League, in whieh event revision may not be so mueh an affair of diplomats. But, I repeat, the pressing task is getting started, being careful, however, that we are starting with an instrument worth while, and not a mere shadow."

It is the straddler's hard luck that the strategy by which he seeks to hedge against the making of an issue against him, prevents him from ever making an issue for himself. Certain it is that the pious wishes of James M. Cox should seem as impious to Woodrow Wilson as the Americanism of Warren G. Harding and Henry Cabot Lodge. The only possible issue made by the candidacy of James M. Cox is the States' Rights issue in the preeise form in whieh it was settled in the campaign of 1860 and again recently by the Supreme Court of the United States. And that issue is not avowed either by the platform or the candidate. And why turn for diplomacy to Cox!

REPUBLICAN SUCCESS WILL BRING BACK THE OLD PROSPERITY AND SECURITY AND RETAIN THE NEW KIND OF WAGES

Twenty years ago the Soeialist Party proposed to go out of existencc. It received a new lease of life from the course of agitation initiated by the Democrats. For the class struggle that is disturbing the world the Democrats are entirely responsible. They have fanned the flames of discontent by dishonest and destructive denuneiation. The consistent eourse of The Republican Party, on the other hand, has given conclusive assuranee that constructive social reforms may best be worked out and the conditions of soeiety ameliorated by the orderly processes of representative government. There never was a more liberal government on earth than that of the United States nor greater progressive liberalism than that developed through the deliberate and continuous poliey of The Republican Party of sixty-four years. Two opposing theories now stand face to face the world over; the one that there is a class struggle between labor and capital, the other that the interests of labor and capital are common. The Republican Party was established on the platform of free labor. Alone it has maintained that capital and labor must both work to create the product from which the reward of wages or profit which is the incentive to work is derived. Labor is not more sensitive than capital, but labor is at this disadvantage that while capital may find a sure reward in government bonds and other investments, labor must derive its support from current work. The political groups whieh denounce capital for political advantage and thus drive capital to the sure reward of government bonds deceive labor and cause the shrinkage of the product out of which labor gets its reward. Chief among the groups pretending friendship to labor through hostility to capital is the so-called Demoeratic party. It is and has been for sixty years the source and fountainhead of all denuneiation. Despite its attempts to conceal the fact in the paramount

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issue of Wilson internationalism, it is more dangerous to-day than ever before. The Democratic candidate is either oblivious that powerful and purposeful elements are making a direct issue of Socialism against Civilization or is unconcerned. The fact is that in the *Times* article quoted above he promised them his kindly toleration. The avowed purpose of these elements is to set Labor against Capital and to destroy capital as an element of production. In this day labor no longer doubts its power to exact its fair share of the product or the interest of capital that labor shall be fairly compensated. The power of labor to bargain with capital depends upon the existence of a demand for labor. The influence that stimulates and assures American industry and commerce creates this demand and keeps it strong and constant. The Republican Party alone in American politics has represented the policy of fostering and developing American industry and commerce and alone has cherished the true interests of American labor. The consistent policy of the Democrats, on the other hand, has been to make political capital for the so-called Democratic party at the expense of American labor by encouraging labor to consider its interests antagonistic to those of the community and attempting to enlist its support by one bait or another for policies threatening to American commerce and industry and destructive of the general prosperity upon which the welfare of labor depends. The Republican Party alone for more than sixty years has maintained that the policy of government should be to foster the common aims of American capital and American labor,—not, be it understood, that capital and labor, or either of them, should work for the government, or that the government should work for capital and labor or either of them, but that government should encourage capital and labor to work for themselves and together. Democratic agitation has consistently driven capital to cover, deprived labor of employment, and produced hard times. The Democratic candidate has already shown himself an enemy of industry by his proposal of a tax measured by the volume of business. Bryan never proposed anything worse or more stupid. Democratic policy has fed labor with a shadow and has aimed to prove to labor that it is friendly by showing its hostility to business. What appear large wages to-day shrink before the price level caused by Democratic inflation and by Democratic demoralization of the productive energies of labor and capital. As the economic effects of war conditions recede, wages and employment threaten to disappear for a time almost altogether. The course of industry, however, warrants the assurance that with conditions stabilized under Republican policies, the normal methods of co-operative production by capital and labor resumed, and the normal price level thereby re-established, the typical Democratic disaster will be averted and the artificial prosperity attendant upon the war made permanent and real. It should be the prayer of every good citizen that this may be so.

THIS ELECTION SHOULD RE-ESTABLISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

No issue of politics has been formulated which justifies any individual group or party in withholding support from the common cause. Political ambition, agitation, and strife have no place in the order of the day. As in every Republican convention, so in the Chicago Convention of 1920, no consideration but for the highest good of this great nation and all its people prevailed. The candidates nominated, United States Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, and Governor Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts,

were chosen not to satisfy any ambition but upon their merits as tried statesmen and public servants truly representative of The Republican Party in that they agitate little but never disappoint. Upon the record of The Republican Party and of its candidates, it is the duty of all American citizens to co-operate in the nomination of Republican candidates for Congress and to help elect them and thus to organize the government once more, not under an autocrat with legislative pawns, but under one Great National American Political Party, representative of and responsible to the people, virile, constructive, and progressive in all its branches. The Republican Party is The Party of Co-operation and The Party Fit to Govern. It aims to co-operate with all the people in all parts of the country and to bring all the people and all their interests into co-operation. As such it is entitled to ask the support and the co-operation of every citizen.

Part II

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DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

SIGNING OF THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

THE GROWTH OF PRINCIPLES

FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT SARATOGA, AUGUST 1, 1875

HON. JOSEPH NEILSON

Chief Justice of the City Court of Brooklyn; Presiding Justice of the Tilton-Beecher Trial

AT the sea shore you pick up a pebble, fashioned after a law of nature, in the exact form that best resists pressure, and worn as smooth as glass. It is so perfect that you take it as a keepsake. But could you know its history from the time when a rough fragment of rock fell from the overhanging cliff into the sea, to be taken possession of by the under currents, and dragged from one ocean to another, perhaps around the world, for a hundred years, until in reduced and perfect form it was cast upon the beach as you find it, you would have a fit illustration of what many principles, now in familiar use, have endured, thus tried, tortured and fashioned during the ages. We stand by the river and admire the great body of water flowing so sweetly on; could you trace it back to its source, you might find a mere rivulet, but meandering on, joined by other streams and by secret springs, and fed by the rains and dews of heaven, it gathers volume and force, makes its way through the gorges of the mountains, plows, widens and deepens its channel through the provinces, and attains its present majesty. Thus it is that our truest systems of science had small beginnings, gradual and countless contributions, and finally took their place in use, as each of you, from helpless childhood and feeble boyhood, have grown to your present strength and maturity. No such system could be born in a day. It was not as when nature in fitful pulsations of her strength suddenly lifted the land into mountain ranges, but rather, as with small accretions, gathered in during countless years, she builds her islands in the seas.

It took a long time to learn the true nature and office of governments; to discover and secure the principles commonly indicated by such terms as "Magna Charta," the "Bill of Rights," "Habeas Corpus," and the "Right of trial by jury"; to found the family home, with its laws of social order, regulating the rights and duties of each member of it, so that the music at the domestic hearth might flow on without discord; the household gods so securely planted that "Though the wind and the rain might enter, the king could not"; to educate noise into music, and music into melody; to infuse into the social code and into the law a spirit of Christian charity, something of the benign temper of the New Testament, so that no man could be persecuted for conscience sake, so that there should be an end of human sacrifice for mere faith or opinion; the smouldering fires at the foot of the stake put out, now, thank God, as effectually as if all the waters that this night flood the rivers had been poured in upon them. It took a long time to learn that war was a foolish and cruel method of settling international differences as compared with arbitration; to learn that piracy was less profitable than a liberal commerce; that unpaid labor was not as good as well-requited toil; that a splenetic old woman, falling into trances and shrieking prophecies, was a fit subject for the asylum rather than to be burned as a witch.

It took a long, long time after the art of printing had been perfected before we learned the priceless value, the sovereign dignity and usefulness of a free press.

But these lessons have been taught and learned; taught for the most part by the prophets of our race, men living in advance of their age, and understood only by the succeeding generations. But you have the inheritance.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

FROM BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

THE 2. BOOKE.

THE rest of this History (if God give me life, & opportunitie) I shall, for brevitis sake, handle by way of *annalls,* noteing only the heads of principall things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seeme to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as ye 2. Booke.

The remainder of Ano: 1620.

I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in ye ship — That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comand them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Goverment, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an [54] acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth:

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advaneemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. Ano: Dom. 1620.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes & orders, both for their civill & military Govermente, as ye necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.

THE DEPLORABLE EXPERIMENT IN SOCIALISM

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Anno Dom: 1623.

It may be thought strang that these people should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when ye ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besids much they gott of ye Indans wher they lived, by one means & other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excesseivly whilst they had, or could get it; and, it may be, wasted parte away among ye Indeans (for he yt was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And after they begane to come into wants, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to ye Indeans, and would cutt them woode & fetch them water, for a cap full of corne; others fell to plaine stealing, both night & day, from ye Indeans, of which they grecvosly complained. In ye end, they came to that misery, that some starved & dyed with could & hunger. One in geathering shell-fish was so weake as he stuck fast in ye mudd, and was found dead in ye place. At last most of them left their dwellings & scatered up & downe in ye [94] woods, & by ye water sids, wher they could find ground nuts & clames, hear 6. and ther ten. By which their cariages they became contemned & scorned of ye Indeans, and they begane greatly to insulte over them in a most insolente maner; insomuch, many times as they lay thus scatered abrod, and had set on a pot with ground nuts or shell-fish, when it was ready the Indeans would come and eate it up; and when night came, wheras some of them had a sorie blanket, or such like, to lappe them selves in, the Indeans would take it and let ye other lye all nighte in the could; so as their condition was very lamentable. Yea, in ye end they were faine to hange one of their men, whom they could not reclaime from stealing, to give ye Indeans contente.

All this whille no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expecte any. So they begane to thinke how they might raise as much corne as they could, and obtaine a beter crope then they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length, after much debate of things, the Govr (with ye advise of ye cheefest amongest them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler, and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in ye generall way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devission for inheritance), and ranged all boys & youth under some familie. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other waise would have bene by any means ye Govr or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente. The women now wente willingly into ye feild, and tooke their litle-ons with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that

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conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that ye taking away of propertie, and bringing in comunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much imploymēt that would have been to their benefite and comforte. For ye yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails & cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter ye other could; this was thought injuestice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and [97] equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, &c., with ye meaner & yonger sorte, thought it some indignite & disrespect unto them. And for mens wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemd it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon ye poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought them selves in ye like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut of those relations that God hath set amongest men, yet it did at least much diminish and take of ye mutuall respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have bene worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none objecte this is men's corruption, and nothing to ye course it selfe. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdome saw another course fiter for them. [*See citation below.*]

By reason of ye plottings of the Narigansets, (ever since ye Pequents warr,) the Indeans were drawne into a generall conspiracie against ye English in all parts, as was in part discovered ye yeare before; and now made more plaine and evidente by many discoveries and free-conffessions of sundrie Indeans (upon severall occasions) from diverse places, concuring in one; with such other concuring circomstances as gave them suffissently to understand the trueth therof, and to thinke of means how to prevente ye same, and secure them selves. Which made them enter into this more nere union & confederation following.

SOCIALISM AS A NATIONAL MENACE TODAY

"Broadly speaking, the two fundamental aims of modern Socialists are the violent overthrow of the existing order throughout the world and the appropriation by the proletarians of all the means of production and distribution. It is, indeed, a daring enterprise. They openly advocate a 'Soviet régime' which would do away with Magna Charta in Great Britain and the Constitution in the United States."—*Socialism* vs. *Civilization*, by Boris Brasol, published February, 1920.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

[257] Articles of Conffederation betweene ye Plantations under ye Govermente of Massachusetss, ye Plantations under ye Govermente of New-Plimoth, ye Plantations under ye Govermente of Conightecute, and ye Govermente of New-Haven, with ye Plantations in combination therwith.

Wheras we all came into these parts of America with one and ye same end and aime, namly, to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, & to injoye ye liberties of ye Gospell in puritie with peace; and wheras in our setling (by a wise providence of God) we are further disperced upon ye sea coasts and rivers then was at first intended, so yt we cannot, according to our desires, with conveniencie comunicate in one govermente & jurisdiction; and wheras we live encompassed with people of severall nations and strang languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posteritie; and for as much as ye natives have formerly comitted sundrie insolencies and outrages upon severall plantations of ye English, and have of late combined them selves against us; and seeing, by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from yt humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfurtable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expecte; we therfore doe conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a presente consociation amongst our selves, for mutuall help & strength in all our future concernments. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be & continue one, according to ye tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. (1) Wherfore it is fully agreed and concluded by & betweene ye parties or jurisdictions above named, and they joyntly & severally doe by these presents agree & conclude, that they all be and henceforth be called by ye name of The United Colonies of New-England.

2. The said United Collonies, for them selves & their posterities, doe joyntly & severally hereby enter into a firme & perpetuall league of frendship & amitie, for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succore upon all just occasions, both for preserving & propagating ye truth of ye Gospell, and for their owne mutuall saftie and wellfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at presente are or hereafter shall be setled with[in] ye limites of ye Massachusets shall be for ever under ye Massachusets, and shall have peculier jurisdiction amonge them selves in all cases, as an intire body. And yt Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-Haven shall each of them have like peculier jurisdition and govermente within their limites and in refference to ye plantations which allready are setled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall setle within their limites, respectively; provided yt no other jurisdition shall hereafter be taken in, as a distincte head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in presente being, and not allready in combination or under ye jurisdiction of any of these confederats, be received by any of them; nor shall any tow of ye confederats joyne in one jurisdiction, without consente of ye rest, which consēte to be interpreted as is expresed in ye sixte article ensewing.

4. It is by these conffederats agreed, yt the charge of all just warrs, whether offencive or defencive, upon what parte or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall, both in men, provissions, and all other disbursments, be borne by all ye parts of this confederation, in differente proportions, according to their differente abillities, in maner following: namely, yt the comissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as ther shall be occasion, bring a true accounte and number of all their males in every plantation, or any way belonging too or under their severall jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from 16. years old to 60. being inhabitants ther; and yt according to ye differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true & just accounte, the service of men and all charges of ye warr be borne by ye pole; each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their owne just course & custome of rating them selves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst them selves, though the confederats take no notice of any such priviledg. And yt according to their differente

charge of each jurisdiction & plantation, the whole advantage of ye warr, (if it please God to blesse their indeaours,) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably devided amonge ye said confederats.

5. It is further agreed, that if these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemie whomsoever, upon notice & requeste of any 3. [258] magistrats of yt jurisdiction so invaded, ye rest of ye confederats, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayde to ye confederate in danger, but in differente proportion; namely, ye Massachusets an hundred men sufficently armed & provided for such a service and journey, and each of ye rest forty five so armed & provided, or any lesser number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such confederate in danger may be supplyed by their nexte confederates, not exeeding ye number hereby agreed, they may crave help ther, and seeke no further for ye presente; ye charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at ye returne to be victuled & suplyed with powder & shote for their jurney (if ther be need) by yt jurisdiction which imployed or sent for them. But none of ye jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of ye comissioners for this confederation, a greater aide appear nessessarie. And this proportion to continue till upon knowlege of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to ye nexte meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in such case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed yt at ye meeting of ye comissioners for this confederation, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered; and if it appeare yt the falte lay in ye parties so invaded, yt then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to ye invaders whom they have injured, and beare all ye charges of ye warr them selves, without requiring any allowance from ye rest of ye confederats towards ye same. And further, yt if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in such a case 3. magistrats of yt jurisdiction may sumone a meeting, at such conveniente place as them selves shall thinke meete, to consider & provid against ye threatened danger, provided when they are mett, they may remove to what place they please; only, whilst any of these foure confederats have but 3 magistrats in their jurisdiction, their requeste, or summons, from any 2. of them shall be accounted of equall force with ye 3. mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till ther be an increase of majestrats ther.

6. It is also agreed yt, for ye managing & concluding of all affairs propper, & concerning the whole confederation, tow comissioners shall be chosen by & out of each of these 4. jurisdictions; namly, 2. for ye Massachusets, 2. for Plimoth, 2. for Conightecutt, and 2. for New-Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their severall Generall Courts respectively to hear, examene, waigh, and detirmine all affairs of warr, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for warr, divissions of spoyles, & whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederats, or plantations into combination with any of ye confederates, and all things of like nature, which are ye proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation, for amitie, offence, & defence; not intermedling with ye govermente of any of ye jurisdictions, which by ye 3. article is preserved entirely to them selves. But if these 8. comissioners when they meete shall not all agree, yet it concluded that any 6. of the 8. agreeing shall have power to setle & determine ye bussines in question. But if 6. doe not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente, and referred to ye 4. Generall Courts, viz. ye Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-haven; and if at all ye said Generall Courts ye bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by ye confederats, and all their members. It was further agreed that these 8. comissioners shall meete once every year, besids extraordinarie meetings, (according to the fifte article,) to consider, treate, & conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be ye first Thursday in September. And yt the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted ye second meeting, shall be at Boston in ye Massachusets, the 3. at Hartford, the 4. at New-Haven, the 5. at Plimoth, and so in course successively, if in ye meane time some midle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be comodious for all ye jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, yt at each meeting of these 8. comissioners, whether ordinarie, or extraordinary, they all 6. of them agreeing as before, may chuse a presidente out of them selves, whose office & work shall be to take care and directe for order, and a comly carrying on of all proceedings in ye present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or re-

specte, as by which he shall hinder ye propounding or progrese of any bussines, or any way cast ye scailes otherwise then in ye precedente article is agreed.

[259] 8. It is also agreed, yt the comissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinarie, as they may have comission or opportunitie, doe indeaover to frame and establish agreements & orders in generall cases of a civill nature, wherin all ye plantations are interessed, for ye preserving of peace amongst them selves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of warr or difference with others; as aboute ye free & speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all ye confederats equally as to their owne; not receiving those yt remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all ye jurisdictions may carry towards ye Indeans, that they neither growe insolente, nor be injured without due satisfaction, least warr breake in upon the confederats through such miscarriages. It is also agreed, yt if any servante rune away from his maister into another of the confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon ye certificate of one magistrate in ye jurisdiction out of which ye said servante fledd, or upon other due proofe, the said servante shall be delivered, either to his maister, or any other yt pursues & brings such certificate or proofe. And yt upon ye escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminall cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from ye officer, or otherwise escaping, upon ye certificate of 2. magistrats of ye jurisdiction out of which ye escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at ye time of ye escape, they magistrats, or sume of them of yt jurisdiction wher for ye presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante such a warrante as ye case will beare, for ye apprehending of any such person, & ye delivering of him into ye hands of ye officer, or other person who pursues him. And if ther be help required, for ye safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him yt craves ye same, he paying the charges therof.

9. And for yt the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence, espetially to ye smaler plantations in these United Collonies, it is agreed yt neither ye Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, nor New-Haven, nor any member of any of them, shall at any time hear after begine, undertake, or ingage them selves, or this confederation, or any parte therof, in any warr whatsoever, (sudden* exegents, with ye necessary consequents therof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as ye case will permitte,) without ye consente and agreemente of ye forementioned 8. comissioners, or at ye least 6. of them, as in ye sixt article is provided. And yt no charge be required of any of they confederats, in case of a defensive warr, till ye said comissioners have mett, and approved ye justice of ye warr, and have agreed upon ye sume of money to be levied, which sume is then to be paid by the severall confederats in proportion according to ye fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or 2. as in ye 5. article, if any of ye comissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed yt 4. of the comissioners shall have power to directe a warr which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as 6. might doe if all mett; but not less then 6. shall determine the justice of ye warr, or alow ye demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for ye same.

11. It is further agreed, yt if any of ye confederats shall hereafter breake any of these presente articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of ye other jurisdictions, such breach of agreemente or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by ye comissioners for ye other jurisdiction; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetuall confederation, and ye severall articles therof being read, and seriously considered, both by ye Generall Courte for ye Massachusets, and by ye comissioners for Plimoth, Conigtecute, & New-Haven, were fully alowed & confirmed by 3. of ye forenamed confederats, namly, ye Massachusets, Conightecutt, and New-Haven; only ye comissioners for Plimoth haveing no comission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their Generall Courte; wher upon it was agreed and concluded by ye said Courte of ye Massachusets, and the comissioners for ye other tow confederats, that, if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articls is, and shall continue, firme & stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet ye other three confederats doe by these presents [260] confeirme ye whole confederation, and ye articles therof; only in September nexte, when ye second meeting of ye comissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of ye 6. article, which concerns number of comissioners for meeting & concluding the af-

*Substituted for *sundry* on the authority of the original MS. Records.

DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Unanimously Adopted in Congress, July 4, 1776, at Philadelphia)

WHEN, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitles them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People

at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-Citizens taken captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

ADAMS, JOHN
ADAMS, SAMUEL
BARTLETT, JOSIAH
BRAXTON, CARTER
CARROLL, CHARLES
CHASE, SAMUEL
CLARK, ABRAHAM
CLYMER, GEORGE
ELLERY, WILLIAM
FLOYD, WILLIAM
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN
GERRY, ELBRIDGE
GWINNETT, BUTTON
HALL, LYMAN
HANCOCK, JOHN
HARRISON, BENJAMIN
HART, JOHN
HEWES, JOSEPH
HEYWARD, JR., THOMAS
HOOPER, WILLIAM
HOPKINS, STEPHEN
HOPKINSON, FRANCIS
HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL
JEFFERSON, THOMAS
LEE, RICHARD HENRY
LEE, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT
LEWIS, FRANCIS
LIVINGSTON, PHILIP
LYNCH, JR., THOMAS
MCKEAN, THOMAS
MIDDLETON, ARTHUR
MORRIS, LEWIS
MORRIS, ROBERT
MORTON, JOHN
NELSON, JR., THOMAS
PACA, WILLIAM
PAINE, ROBERT TREAT
PENN, JOHN
READ, GEORGE
RODNEY, CAESAR
ROSS, GEORGE
RUSH, BENJAMIN
RUTLEDGE, EDWARD
SHERMAN, ROGER
SMITH, JAMES
STOCKTON, RICHARD
STONE, THOMAS
TAYLOR, GEORGE
THORNTON, MATTHEW
WALTON, GEORGE
WHIPPLE, WILLIAM
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM
WILSON, JAMES
WITHERSPOON, JOHN
WOLCOTT, OLIVER
WYTHE, GEORGE

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Ratified by the last of the States, March 1st, 1781

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN THE STATES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS BAY, RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, CONNECTICUT, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND GEORGIA.

ARTICLE I. The style of this Confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them. If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States and while they act as members of the

committee of the States. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article VI. No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign State; nor shall the United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use in public stores a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

Article VII. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

Article IX. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of

such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the Acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be prived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands and the States which passed such grants, are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, "A Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on considera-

tion of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

Article X. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

Article XI. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

Article XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Article XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time here-

after be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled,* on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

*THE IMPORTANT ENACTMENT OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION

The Congress of the Confederation laid the ground, by enacting the Ordinance of 1787, both for the Constitution and the logic of the struggle for a free and united nation by The Republican Party.

"The Treaty of Paris was promptly ratified by the Congress whose orders had been so flagrantly violated in the negotiation of it, and the Confederation of states entered upon the possession of the western domain. Perhaps, we should say that the states, rather than the Confederation, did so. For there was as yet no nation, and there was no national domain. The region west of the mountains was largely claimed by individual states. At the time of the Treaty of Paris the division of territory was substantially as follows: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland had their present boundaries. Massachusetts had her present area, and in addition what is now the state of Maine, all of what is now New York west of Utica and south of Cape Vincent, the southern parts of Michigan and Wisconsin, and the northern part of Illinois. Connecticut in addition to her present area had a broad strip extending from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River across the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. New York had claimed, in addition to the eastern part of her present state, all of Vermont, the northern parts of Michigan and Wisconsin, and the eastern third of Minnesota, but in 1781, anticipating subsequent events, had ceded those western regions to the Confederation, thus laying the foundation of a federal domain and setting an example of incalculable importance. Virginia had her present area, and also West Virginia, Kentucky, and the southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. She had, by the way, offered, in January, 1781, to give all her lands north of the Ohio River to the Confederacy, thus anticipating New York's cession, but the actual transfer was not made until 1784. North Carolina had her present area and Tennessee. South Carolina, in addition to her present state, had a narrow strip just south of Tennessee, running across the northern ends of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to the Mississippi River. Georgia had her present area, excepting the South Carolina strip, and also Alabama and Mississippi north of the Florida line.

"Beginning with New York on March 1, 1781, and followed by Virginia on March 1, 1784, state after state relinquished the western lands to the Confederation, and thus established a national domain, owned and administered by all the states in common. The importance of this action upon the development of a national spirit, national institutions, and the nation itself, is not easily to be overestimated. The common ownership of enormous properties was a strong bond of union, and a potent force, making for still more complete unification. The result of Clark's adventures and of Jay's strenuous diplomacy was, therefore, not only the acquisition of territory but the development of nationality.

"It was even more than that. It in a measure shaped the fundamental policy of the nation that was to be. It was Virginia, under the lead of Jefferson, then her governor, that first offered to the Confederation the lands north of the Ohio. Later, when the cession to the general government had actually been effected, it was Virginia, also under Jefferson's lead, that moved for the establishment of an organized government over those lands. The Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwest Territory, was one of the most important pieces of legislation made by the Congress of the Confederation. Daniel Webster doubted 'whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character.' George F. Hoar has declared that it 'belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution' as 'one of the three title deeds of American constitutional liberty.'

"These lofty estimates are not overdrawn. It was that ordinance that established the principle of congressional government of territories belonging to the United States but not yet incorporated into the Union, and that provided for the creation of states out of territories, and for their admission into the Union. The ordinance also provided that after the year 1800 human slavery should not exist north of the Ohio River, a provision which formed the corner-

stone of the free state power of the North, and which half a century later led to results of vast importance. We have said that Jefferson was the author of the Ordinance of 1787. It was not adopted just as he would have had it. He earnestly urged the application of the anti-slavery clause to the territory south of the Ohio, too. Had his counsel prevailed, the slavery question would have been settled and disposed of at the very beginning of our national life. We may smile at Jefferson's fantastic proposals to call the new transmontane states by such names as Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, Pelisipia, and Illinoia. They were survivals of his green and salad days when he habitually referred to his adored Belinda as 'Campana in Die'—a polyglot pun almost deserving of capital punishment. But we must rank among the great glories of his career his strenuous support of Clark's conquest of the northwest, and his statesmanlike leadership in giving to that region a free republican constitution and in opening to it the doors of the Federal Union. Of a truth, expansion was well provided for, even before we became a nation. The possibility of ten new states was secured to us, and the transformation of the Confederation into a Federal Union, and of the colonies into a nation, was irrevocably assured."

From "A Century of Expansion," by Willis Fletcher Johnson.

"Concerning the authorship of this important document there has been much discussion. On this interesting question there seems to have been little comment at the time, for the Ordinance was passed by a moribund Congress, from which most of the talent was already withdrawn. Credit has at times been ascribed to Cutler, and one might expect to find in his detailed journal full information on the whole subject. He took a lively interest in his journey to New York, but he describes in his diary everything but the one thing which we should like to know; he tells of wine dinners, of pleasant companions, of entertaining and well-dressed young women, but of the excellences of this fundamental Ordinance he says nothing at all. He did propose some amendments to the report pending in Congress; he did meet the committee in charge; and he may well have advocated the insertion of the fundamental maxims of liberty, for he well knew the monetary value of having it well understood that certain principles of freedom were to obtain in the western country; but his diary would lead one to think that it was the shrewd bargain for the purchase of land that filled his mind and thoughts.

"Nathan Dane, a member of Congress and of the committee, claimed in his later years the credit of the authorship, and his case is fairly clear. He may have been influenced by Cutler; he was surely influenced by other men, for a large part of the Ordinance was a condensation of portions of the Massachusetts constitution of 1780; but he, more than any other man, draughted the Ordinance of 1787, and his name should not be forgotten in the list of makers of the American nation. Credit should also be given to Rufus King, who, though not in Congress when the Ordinance was passed, was at least responsible in part for the most famous clause in it, the clause prohibiting slavery. But of course, when all is said, the credit of authorship cannot be given to two or three men; the significance of the Ordinance lies in the fact that it was the result of a long effort to settle the western question. In many of its essentials it was—like other great historical documents momentous in human annals—the product of years. It crystallized the principles of colonial organization about which men had been disputing for a generation."

From "The American Nation: A History," edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Vol. 10, "The Confederation and the Constitution," by Andrew C. McLaughlin, page 124.

"The judgment of the Court was that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri in the sense in which 'citizen' is used in the Constitution; that the Circuit Court of the United States for that reason had no jurisdiction in the case and could give no judgment, and that its judgment therefore must be reversed and a mandate issued directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction. With this, in the opinion of the Republicans, the court should have stopped. The only question before it was, Is Dred Scott a citizen of the United States? No justice of the court had a right to discuss, decide, or even express an opinion on any other question. Yet the five pro-slavery justices, laying aside decorum and usage, had given opinions on five constitutional questions of vital importance to the free States of the Union. Three held that the ordinance of 1787 was valid under the articles of confederation, but expired with them, and the act of Congress confirming it was void because Congress had no authority under the Constitution to legislate for the Territories."

From "History of the People of the United States," by John Bach McMaster, Vol. 8, page 280.

THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE OF 1787

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO

Section 1.—Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said Territory, for the purpose of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Section 2—Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children and the descendants of a deceased child in equal parts among them; and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parent's share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Section 3—Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

Section 4—There shall be appointed from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies

of such acts and proceedings every six months to the Secretary of Congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common-law jurisdiction and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commission shall continue in force during good behavior.

Section 5—The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

Section 6—The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Section 7—Previous to the organization of the general assembly the governor shall appoint such magistrates, and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

Section 8—For the prevention of crimes, and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

Section 9—So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly: Provided, That for every five hundred free male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; Provided, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee-simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; Provided also, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

Section 10—The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township, for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

THE FIRST PRAYER IN CONGRESS

Section 11—The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum; and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met they shall nominate ten persons, resident in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress, one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent, but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

Section 12—The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

Section 13—And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

Section 14—It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ARTICLE 1

No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ARTICLE 2

The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writs of habeas corpus, and of the trial of the jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts, or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud previously formed.

ARTICLE 3

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ARTICLE 4

The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district, or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona-fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and Saint Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ARTICLE 5

There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of

cession and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows; to wit: The western State, in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash Rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last-mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: Provided, however, And it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in the part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: Provided, the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles, and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

ARTICLE 6

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby, repealed, and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

THE CHANGE FROM LEAGUE OF STATES TO NATION

THE ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION

THE history of the formation of the government is that of, first, a statement of the necessity of national commerce, and then, an admission that perfect consolidation was necessary to give the statement any force. This concession was perfectly expressed in the two propositions that the regulation of commerce is a national function, and that commerce is intercourse. An examination of the causes which resulted in the formation of a nation, instead of a league, will reveal how important a part the subject of commerce played in the purposes of the framers of the Constitution. On the 21st of January, 1786, the Legislature of Virginia passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Jr., Walter Jones, St. George Tucker, and Meriwether Smith, Esquires, be appointed Commissioners, who, or any three of them, shall meet such Commissioners as may be appointed in the other States of the Union, at a time and place agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situations and trade of said States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their perfect harmony; and to report to the several States such an act, relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress effectually to provide for the same."

Pursuant to this resolution, the Commissioners assembled at Annapolis in the following September, but delegates from five States only were present. Under the circumstances of this partial representation, the Commissioners did not deem it advisable to proceed with their commission, but resorted to a draft, framed by Alexander Hamilton, of a recommendation to the various States, a part of which was as follows:

"In this persuasion, your Commissioners submit an opinion that the idea of extending the powers of their Deputies to other objects than those of commerce, which has been adopted by the State of New Jersey, was an improvement on the original plan, and will deserve to be incorporated *into that of a future convention.* They are the more naturally led to this conclusion, as, in the course of their reflections on the subject, they have been induced to think that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the Federal Government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a corresponding adjustment of other parts of the Federal system."

The draft concluded with the suggestion of the Constitutional Convention, which by sanction of Congress was afterwards convened in May, 1787.

From "The Power to Regulate Corporations and Commerce," by Frank Hendrick

GRAVURE ANDERSON-LANG CO. N.Y.

Frank Hendrick

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1—(Legislative powers: in whom vested.)

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2—(House of Representatives, how and by whom chosen. Qualifications of a Representative. Representatives and direct taxes, how apportioned. Enumeration. Vacancies to be filled. Power of choosing officers, and of impeachment.)

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.*

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3—(Senators, how and by whom chosen. How classified. State Executive, when to make temporary appointments, in case, etc. Qualifications of a Senator.

* See Article XIV, Amendments.

President of the Senate, his right to vote. President pro tem., and other officers of the Senate, how chosen. Power to try impeachments. When President is tried, Chief Justice to preside. Sentence.)

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment of cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4—(Times, etc., of holding elections, how prescribed. One Session in each year.)

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5—(Membership. Quorum. Adjournments. Rules. Power to punish or expel. Journal. Time of adjournments, how limited, etc.)

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6—(Compensation. Privileges. Disqualification in certain cases.)

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7—(House to originate all revenue bills. Veto. Bill may be passed by two-thirds of each house, notwithstanding, etc. Bill, not returned in ten days, to become a law. Provisions as to orders, concurrent resolutions, etc.)

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8—(Powers of Congress.)

1. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dry-docks, and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9—(Provision as to migration or importation of certain persons. Habeas Corpus. Bills of attainder, etc. Taxes, how apportioned. No export duty. No commercial preference. Money, how drawn from treasury, etc. No titular nobility. Officers not to receive presents, etc.)

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1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by laws; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10—(States prohibited from the exercise of certain powers.)

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1—(President; his term of office. Electors of President; number and how appointed. Electors to vote on same day. Qualification of President. On whom his duties devolve in case of his removal, death, etc. President's compensation. His oath of office.)

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2—(President to be Commander-in-Chief. He may require opinions of Cabinet Officers, etc., may pardon. Treaty-making power. Nomination of certain officers. When President may fill vacancies.)

1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the

* This clause is superseded by Article XII, Amendments.

United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3—(President shall communicate to Congress. He may convene and adjourn Congress, in case of disagreement, etc. Shall receive ambassadors, execute laws, and commission officers.)

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4—(All civil offices forfeited for certain crimes.)

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1—(Judicial powers. Tenure. Compensation.)

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2—(Judicial power; to what cases it extends. Original jurisdiction of Supreme Court. Appellate. Trial by jury, etc. Trial, where.)

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3—(Treason defined. Proof of. Punishment of.)

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV

Section 1—(Each State to give credit to the public acts, etc., of every other State.)

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2—(Privileges of citizens of each State. Fugitives from justice to be delivered up. Persons held to service having escaped, to be delivered up.)

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3—(Admission of new States. Power of Congress over territory and other property.)

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4—(Republican form of government guaranteed. Each State to be protected.)

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Article V

(Constitution: how amended. Proviso.)

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

(Certain debts, etc., declared valid. Supremacy of Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States. Oath to support Constitution, by whom taken. No religious test.)

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII

(What ratification shall establish Constitution.)

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The following amendments to the Constitution, Articles I to X inclusive, were proposed at the First Session of the First Congress, begun and held at the City of New York, on Wednesday, March 4, 1789, and were adopted by the necessary number of States. The original proposal of the ten amendments was preceded by this preamble and resolution:

"The conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution:

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, namely:"

THE TEN ORIGINAL AMENDMENTS

They were declared in force December 15, 1791

Article I

Religious Establishment Prohibited. Freedom of Speech, of the Press, and Right to Petition.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article II

Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III

No Soldier to be Quartered in Any House, Unless, Etc.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV

Right of Search and Seizure Regulated.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V

Provisions Concerning Prosecution, Trial and Punishment.—Private Property Not to be Taken for Public Use, without Compensation.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life

or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI

Right to Speedy Trial, Witnesses, Etc.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation: to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII

Right of Trial by Jury.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive Bail or Fines and Cruel Punishments Prohibited.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

Rule of Construction of Constitution.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

Rights of States Under Constitution.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Third Congress on the 5th of March, 1794, and was declared to have been ratified in a message from the President to Congress, dated Jan. 8, 1798.

Article XI

Judicial Powers Construed.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Eighth Congress on the 12th of December, 1803, and was declared to have been

ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated September 25, 1804. It was ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

Article XII

Manner of Choosing President and Vice-President.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-eighth Congress on the 1st of February, 1865, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated December 18, 1865. It was rejected by Delaware and Kentucky; was conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi; and Texas took no action.

Article XIII

Slavery Abolished.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The following, popularly known as the Reconstruction Amendment, was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-ninth Congress on the 16th of June, 1866, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated July 28, 1868. The amendment got the support of 23 Northern States; it was rejected by Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and 10 Southern States. California took no action. Subsequently it was ratified by the 10 Southern States.

Article XIV

Citizenship Rights Not to be Abridged.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Apportionment of Representatives in Congress.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Power of Congress to Remove Disabilities of United States Officials for Rebellion.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

What Public Debts Are Valid.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Fortieth Congress on the 27th of February, 1869, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870. It was not acted on by Tennessee; it was rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Oregon; ratified by the remaining 30 States. New York rescinded its ratification January 5, 1870. New Jersey rejected it in 1870, but ratified it in 1871.

Article XV

Equal Rights for White and Colored Citizens.

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-first Congress on the 12th day of July, 1909, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated February 25, 1913. The income tax amendment was ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Florida, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, and Virginia.

Article XVI

Income Taxes Authorized.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-second Congress on the 16th day of May, 1912, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated May 31, 1913. It got the vote of all the States except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia.

Article XVII

United States Senators to Be Elected by Direct Popular Vote.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Vacancies in Senatorships, When Governor May Fill by Appointment.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII

Liquor Prohibition Amendment.

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

(The liquor prohibition amendment and legislation under it have been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. Official announcement of the adoption of the amendment by 36 States was made by Secretary of State Lansing on January 29, 1919.)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

There is, properly speaking, no popular vote for President and Vice-President; the people vote for electors, and those chosen in each State meet therein and vote for the candidates for President and Vice-President. The record of any popular vote for electors prior to 1828 is so meagre and imperfect that a compilation would be useless. In most of the States, for more than a quarter century following the establishment of the Government, the State Legislatures "appointed" the Presidential electors, and the people therefore voted only indirectly for them, their choice being expressed by their votes for members of the Legislature.

The Constitution originally consisted of a Preamble and seven Articles, and in that form was "Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth." The Constitution was declared in effect on the first Wednesday in March, 1789. The signers of the original Constitution, by virtue of their membership in Congress, were:

GO. WASHINGTON, *President and deputy from Virginia.*

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
Connecticut: Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.
New York: Alexander Hamilton.
New Jersey: Wil. Livingston, David Brearley, Wm. Patterson, Jona. Dayton.
Pennsylvania: B. Franklin, Robt. Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Gouv. Morris.
Delaware: Geo. Read, John Dickinson, Jaco. Broom, Gunning Bedford jun, Richard Bassett.
Maryland: James McHenry, Dani. Carroll, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.
Virginia: John Blair, James Madison, Jr.
North Carolina: Wm. Blount, Hu. Williamson, Richd. Dobbs Spaight.
South Carolina: J. Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
Georgia: William Few, Abr. Baldwin,
Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

The Constitution was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787, unanimously.
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, vote 46 to 23.
New Jersey, December 18, 1787, unanimously.
Georgia, January 2, 1788, unanimously.
Connecticut, January 9, 1788, vote 128 to 40.
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, vote 187 to 168.
Maryland, April 28, 1788, vote 63 to 12.
South Carolina, May 23, 1788, vote 149 to 73.
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, vote 57 to 46.
Virginia, June 25, 1788, vote 89 to 79.
New York, July 26, 1788, vote 30 to 28.
North Carolina, November 21, 1789, vote 193 to 75.
Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, vote 34 to 32.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

EXTRACTS FROM HIS ADDRESS COUNSELLING THE MAINTENANCE OF THE UNION.—CONFINEMENT OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO ITS CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS, AND AVOIDANCE OF RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POLITICAL AFFAIRS

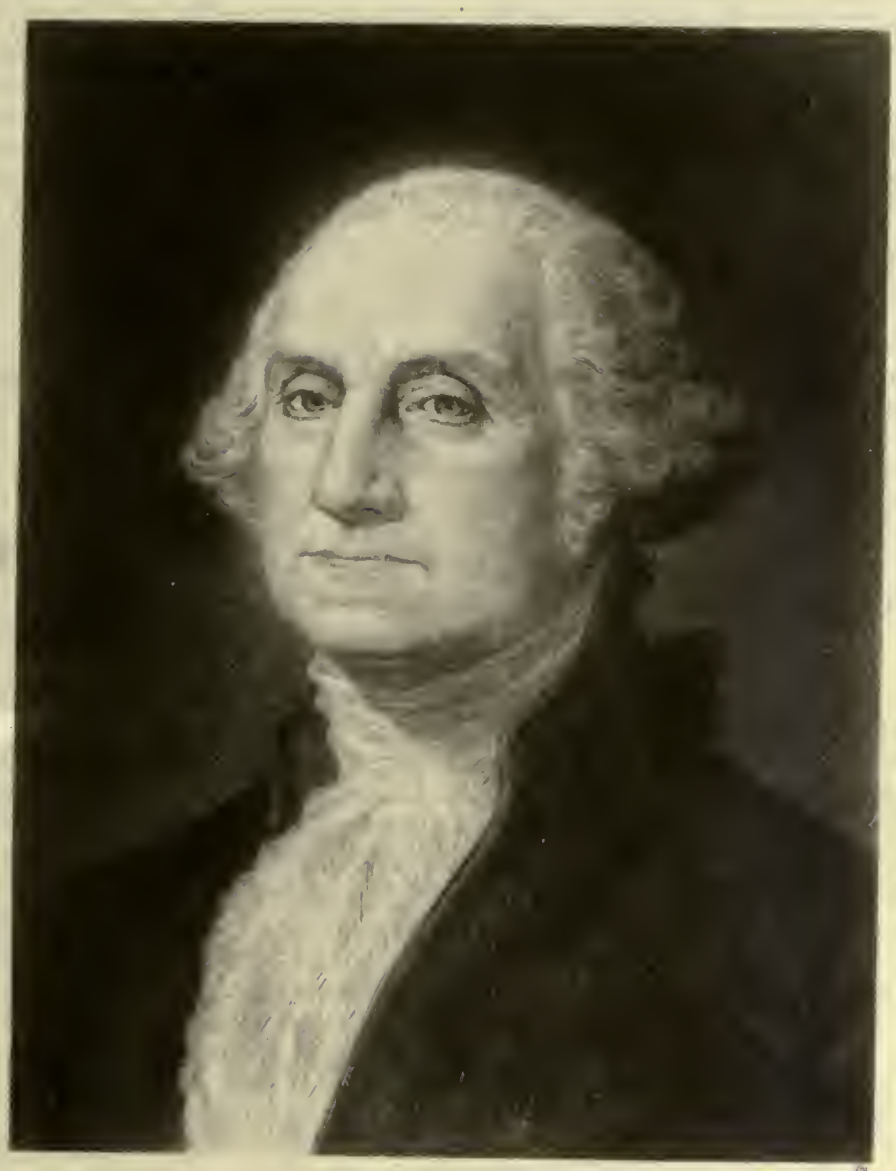
To the People of the United States on His Approaching Retirement from the Presidency

INTERWOVEN as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse



G. Washington.

it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

Entanglements with Foreign Powers

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making

acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which hitherto has marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.*

United States, September 17, 1796. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* "It is a source of profound pride with me to receive such an evidence of the confidence of the great party which derives its principles direct and untainted from the founders of our Government and the authors of our liberty."—*President Wilson to Chairman Cummings of the Democratic National Convention of 1920.*

The American democratic advocate of an un-American super-government forgets his history. One hundred and twenty-four years ago, lacking two months, the editor of a Philadelphia paper, the *National Advertiser,* was asked to call at Sixth and Market streets. He did so, and an historian thus narrates the sequel:

"He entered the hall, was shown into the drawing room and there, standing with his back to the fireplace, was the most God-like man the world has ever known, six feet two in height, steel-gray eyes, prominent, aquiline nose, firm, set mouth, clad in black velvet, sword hanging by his side.

"When Mr. Claypole, the editor in question, entered, this man, who was none other than George Washington, said to him:

" 'Mr. Claypole, I have a manuscript here that I am very anxious you should publish in the *Advertiser,* and I want you to publish it exactly as I have written.'

"Claypole said he would do it, and took it away.

"Washington for five years had labored over that manuscript, first in 1792, toward the end of his first administration; then he laid it aside when he agreed to accept a second term. In 1796, he took it up again and submitted it to the keenest jurist of his time, James Madison, sometimes called the 'Father of the Constitution.' He then discussed it with his Cabinet, including the very acute brain of Thomas Jefferson. When their opinions were given, he submitted the draft to that 'Admirable Crichton' of the period, Alexander Hamilton, and asked him to take all the suggestions that had been made and put the document into final shape. Hamilton did so, and when it was returned to Washington, the latter again carefully revised it and then handed it to Claypole.

"Twice the printer's proofs were returned, and twice Washington returned them, with all the laborious care that marked that supremely great man, and finally, one September day, the noblest political testament in the history of the world was published,—the Farewell Address.

"It was not an official communication addressed to Congress. It was addressed to the people of the United States as citizens. It was not to his generation alone that he addressed it; but, knowing that he would soon be gathered into the 'mansions of the departed,' Washington desired, as among the last acts of his life, to give to future generations of the American people the result of his forty-five years of experience in the army and field, his matured and final views as to our nation's destiny and true policy."

David Jayne Hill

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THE Monroe Doctrine dates from a declaration of December 2, 1823, by James Monroe, President of the United States, in his seventh annual message to Congress. Brazil had declared its independence of Portugal the year before. Troubles in the latter country had caused a modification of the Constitution. In Spain a revolution had occurred, and the dominion of Peru was lost. The Holy Alliance, formed in 1815 by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was threatening, so it was alleged, to help Spain recover its control in South America. Russia and the United States were in controversy over their Pacific Coast boundaries. Mr. Monroe in his message took up the Russian matter first, saying:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

The President then spoke of Spain and Portugal in this wise:

"Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between these new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security."

THE REASON THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS ESTABLISHED

THE PARTY SYSTEM

PARTY AND THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

THE last generation has made great strides in the study of psychology. The workings of the individual mind, and its reaction to every stimulus or impression, especially under morbid conditions, have been examined with far more care than ever before. Social psychology has also come into view, and attempts have been made to explain the psychology of national traits, and of abnormal or unhealthy popular movements, notably mobs. But the normal forces that govern the ordinary conduct of men in their public relations have scarcely received any scientific treatment at all. In short, we are almost wholly lacking in a psychology of political parties, the few scattered remarks in Maine's "Popular Government" being, perhaps, still the nearest approach to such a thing that we possess.

The absence of treatises on the subject is all the more remarkable because the phenomena to be studied are almost universal in modern governments that contain a popular element. Experience has, indeed, shown that democracy in a great country, where the number of voters is necessarily large, involves the permanent existence of political parties; and it would not be hard to demonstrate that this must in the nature of things be the case. That parties exist, and are likely to continue to do so, has provoked general attention. By all statesmen they are recognised as a factor to be reckoned with in public life; and, indeed, efforts have been made in various places to deal with them by law. In the United States, for example, the local caucuses, or conventions of the parties, and their methods of nominating candidates, have of late years been regulated by statute; while in Switzerland and Belgium, elaborate schemes of proportional representation have been put into operation to insure a fair share of seats to the groups in the minority.

But if political parties have become well-nigh universal at the present time, they are comparatively new in their modern form. No one in the eighteenth century foresaw party government as it exists to-day, enfolding the whole surface of public life in its constant ebb and flow. An occasional man like Burke could speak of party without condemnation; but with most writers on political philosophy parties were commonly called factions, and were assumed to be subversive of good order and the public welfare. Men looked at the history with which they were familiar; the struggles for supremacy at Athens and at Rome; the Guelphs and Ghibelines exiling one another in the Italian republics; the riots in the Netherlands; the civil war and the political strife of the seventeenth century in England. It was not unnatural that with such examples before their eyes they should have regarded parties as fatal to the prosperity of the state. To them the idea of a party opposed to the government was asso-

ciated with a band of selfish intriguers, or a movement that endangered the public peace and the security of political institutions.

Foreign observers, indeed, point out that for nearly three hundred years political parties have existed in England, as they have not in continental countries; and that the procedure of the House of Commons has consistently protected the Opposition in its attacks upon the government. This is true, and there is no doubt that even in the seventeenth century party struggles were carried on both in Parliament and by pamphlets and public speeches, with a freedom unknown in most other nations; but still they were a very different thing from what they are now. They were never far removed from violence. When the Opposition of those days did not actually lead to bloodshed, it was perilously near to plots and insurrection; and the fallen minister, who was driven from power by popular feeling or the hostility of Parliament, passed under the shadow at least of the scaffold. Danby was impeached, and Shaftesbury, his rival, died a refugee in Holland. With the accession of the House of Hanover, and the vanishing of the old issues, political violence subsided. The parties degenerated into personal factions among the ruling class; and true parties were evolved slowly by the new problems of a later generation.

The expression, "His Majesty's Opposition," said to have been coined by John Cam Hobhouse before the Reform Bill, would not have been understood at an earlier period; and it embodies the greatest contribution of the nineteenth century to the art of government—that of a party out of power which is recognised as perfectly loyal to the institutions of the state, and ready at any moment to come into office without a shock to the political traditions of the nation. In countries where popular control of public affairs has endured long enough to be firmly established, an Opposition is not regarded as in its nature unpatriotic. On the contrary, the party in power has no desire to see the Opposition disappear. It wants to remain in power itself, and for that reason it wants to keep a majority of the people on its side; but it knows well that if the Opposition were to become so enfeebled as to be no longer formidable, rifts would soon appear in its own ranks. In the newer democracies, such as France and Italy, there are large bodies of men whose aims are revolutionary, whose object is to change the existing form of government, although not necessarily by violent means. These men are termed "irreconcilables," and so long as they maintain that attitude, quiet political life with a peaceful alternation of parties in power is an impossibility.

The recognition of the Opposition as a legitimate body, entitled to attain to power by persuasion, is a primary condition of the success of the party system, and therefore of popular government on a large scale. Other conditions of success follow from this.

If the Opposition is not to be regarded as revolutionary, its objects must not be of that character, either in the eyes of its own adherents, or in those of other people. As Professor Dicey has put it, parties must be divided upon real differences, which are important, but not fundamental. There is, of course, no self-evident line to mark off those things that are revolutionary or fundamental; and herein lies an incidental advantage of a written constitution restricting the competence of the legislature, for it draws just such a line, and goes far to confine the immediate energies of the parties to questions that are admitted not to be revolutionary. In the absence of a constitution of that kind, party activity must be limited to a conventional field, which is regarded by the public opinion of the day as fairly within the range of practical politics. Clearly

the issues must not involve vital matters, such as life or confiscation. When, during the progress of the French Revolution, an orator argued in favour of the responsibility of the ministers, and added "By responsibility we mean death," he advocated a principle inconsistent with the peaceful alternation of parties in power.

For the same reason there is grave danger when the lines of cleavage of the parties coincide with those between the different social classes in the community, because one side is likely to believe that the other is shaking the foundations of society, and passions are kindled like those that blaze in civil war. This is true whenever the parties are separated by any of the deeper feelings that divide mankind sharply into groups; and especially when two or three such feelings follow the same channel. The chief difficulty with Irish Nationalism, as a factor in English politics, lies in the fact that to a great extent the line of cleavage is at once racial, religious, social, and economic.

In order that the warfare of parties may be not only safe, but healthy, it must be based upon a real difference of opinion about the needs of the community as a whole. In so far as it is waged, not for public objects, but for the private gain, whether of individuals, or of classes, or of collective interests, rich or poor, to that extent politics will degenerate into a scramble of self-seekers.

Before inquiring how far these conditions have been fulfilled in England we must consider the form that party has assumed there, and the institutions to which it has given birth. England is, in fact, the only large country in which the political institutions and the party system are thoroughly in harmony.

The framers of the Constitution of the United States did not foresee the rôle that party was to play in popular government, and they made no provision for it in their plan; yet they established a system in which parties were a necessity. It was from the first inevitable, and soon became clear, that the real selection of the President would not be left to the judgment of the electoral college—a result made the more certain, first, by providing that the members should assemble by States, and hence should not meet together as a whole for deliberation; and second, by excluding from the college all congressmen and holders of federal offices, that is, all the leading men in national public life. If the electoral college was not really to select the President, it must become a mere machine for registering the results of a popular vote throughout the nation, and the candidates for the presidency must be designated beforehand in some way.

In a small district where the voters are few, and an interchange of opinions naturally takes place by informal conference, public officers may be elected by popular vote without the existence of any machinery for nomination; but in a large constituency, where the voters are not personally acquainted with each other, men who have the same objects in view must get together, agree upon a candidate, and recommend him to the public. Otherwise votes will be thrown away by scattering them, and it will be mere chance whether the result corresponds with the real wishes of the voters or not. In short, there must be some process for nominating candidates; that is, some party organisation; and the larger the electorate the more imperative the need of it. Now the electorate that practically chooses the President of the United States is by far the largest single constituency that has ever existed in the world. It is, in fact, noteworthy that democracy throughout Europe adheres to the custom of dividing the country for political purposes into comparatively small electorates; while in the United States it is the habit to make whole communities single constituencies for the choice of their chief magistrates—state governors or national president—a condition of things

NATHAN L. MILLER

that involves elaborate party machinery for nomination, and hence the creation of huge party organisations on a popular basis.

The form of government in the United States has thus made parties inevitable; and yet they were furnished with no opportunity for the exercise of their functions by the regular organs of the state. There were no means provided whereby a party could formulate and carry through its policy, select its candidates for high office, or insure that they should be treated as the real leaders of the party and able to control its action.* The machinery of party, therefore, from the national convention to the legislative caucus, has perforce been created outside the framework of the government, and cannot be nicely adjusted thereto.

Turning from Parliament to the legislative bodies of the United States, we find quite a different array of figures. Five Congresses were examined, those elected in 1844, 1862, 1886, 1896 and 1898, and in each of them all the sessions of both branches were studied. From the summary of results, given in the note, it is clear that no such continuous tendency has been at work, as in the House of Commons. The proportion of party votes changes very much from one Congress, and even from one session, to another, but it does not follow closely any fixed law of evolution. It is, indeed, much less in the first of these Congresses than in the last, and, no doubt, it tends on the whole to increase; yet great fluctuations have taken place, sometimes between two sessions of the same Congress. It has often happened, for example, that the proportion of party votes has been twice as large in one session as in another. The most striking case occurred in the Fifty-fifth Congress elected in 1896. Here the percentage of party votes in the first session of the House was 85.71, and in the third only 20; while in the Senate it was 69.47 in the first session, and in the third it disappeared altogether. Wherever this happens, and in fact wherever the number of party votes is especially large, it is because of some one particular measure on which the parties take issue. In the Fifty-fifth Congress it was due to the Dingley Tariff Bill, which the Houses had been called together in a special session to consider; and in the same way the 66.48 per cent of party votes in the Senate in the second session of the Fiftieth Congress was almost entirely caused by the Mills Tariff Bill, or rather by the Senate substitute therefor.

In Parliament contentious legislation is now conducted in the main by one party and opposed by the other, and hence the proportion of party votes is nearly constant. In Congress this is by no means true, and the quantity of such votes depends largely upon the presence of some question on which the parties happen to be sharply divided. On other subjects party lines are less strictly drawn. In short, in England the parties frame the issues; in America at the present day the issues do not, indeed, make the parties, but determine the extent of their opposition to each other in matters of legislation. In general the statistics for Congress show that whereas during the middle of the century the amount of party voting there was at least as great as in Parliament, and while in particular sessions the English maximum has been exceeded, yet on the average, party lines are now drawn distinctly less often than in the House of Commons.

From "The Government of England" by A. Lawrence Lowell

* "So long as the principles of a political party are conceded, personal political ambitions are justifiable, but whenever fundamental ideas must be defended, that must be done by ideas alone. The present campaign of The Republican Party is a fight for the survival of the American system of government. It should enlist the support of every man who has caught the spirit of American institutions."—*William Barnes in the Campaign of 1912.*

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Delivered at the
Dedication of the National Cemetery,
November 19, 1863

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [An accurate version of the Gettysburg Address as revised by Mr. Lincoln and printed in "Autographs of Our Country's Authors," Baltimore, 1864.]

Part III

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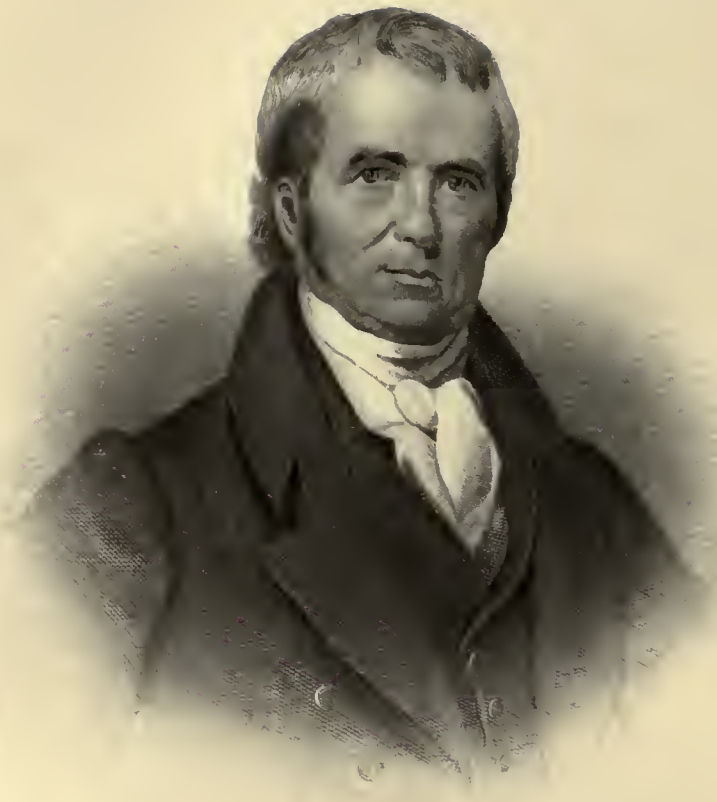
THE STANDARD BEARERS OF REPUBLICANISM



J Marshall

JOHN MARSHALL

The Founder of "Republicanism" as the Safeguard of True Democracy

By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

Former United States Senator and Author of "The Life of John Marshall"

FOR the first time in many decades, the American people are facing a situation which compels attention to the fundamentals of government. Heretofore our political issues, while important, have not involved the basic principles of our institutions of orderly freedom; they might have been settled either way without affecting the foundation upon which the American Nation rests. To-day, however, conditions are arising which have to do with the on-going of government by methods of regular and systematic procedure.

It thus has come about that the philosophy and work of John Marshall are at this time more important than those of any other man in our history to the preservation of our Republic as it was planned and has thus far developed. He understood better than anybody else, or, at least, worked out more effectively than any other mind, the capital truth that a stable and stabilizing force is vital to the success of a democracy.

It is becoming ever clearer to thoughtful men that the gravest peril to popular government is the want of steadiness. Temporary popular caprice, sharp and passionate demands for instantaneous and ill-considered action, the eccentric play of emotion on public opinion which, if held in check until the people can have the benefit of their sober second thought, unfailingly are regretted and rejected by the mass judgment, will, when unrestrained and undisciplined, lead to inevitable catastrophe.

While of course it is impossible in a few words to give even a brief précis of Marshall's philosophy, yet perhaps the whole of it may be best summed up in the words steadiness in popular thought and action and stability of public judgment when once maturely formed and deliberately rendered. As the best aid to this, Marshall realized and managed to put into effect the principle of the supremacy of courts, not only in the ordinary disputes of men, but also over such legislation as is forbidden by our fundamental law. Of equal moment was his idea, which he contrived to put into practice, that every branch of our popular government must function in a regular manner according to well understood rules established by statute and custom.

Speaking by and large, it is these conceptions of legislation, administration and judicial control which are now in gravest danger, and which must be defended and preserved at any cost and at any hazard; since otherwise it is plain that our Republican Government will fall into chaos. Many examples of this simple fact may be given.

For instance, the lawless method of coercing the enactment of the Adamson law raised exactly this elemental issue; for, should such a practice become general, there would, of course, be an end of free government of, by and for all the people, and instead, we would suffer under the erratic despotism of political groups. The practical abrogation of many other constitutional methods of executive action, fresh in the minds of all, furnish still other illustrations.

Additional instances, hardly less shocking, are before our eyes in the matter of the numerous attempts to suppress lawful free speech on the one hand; and yet the unrestrained exercise of criminal speech on the other hand—both violative of the very life principle of liberty.

That our government shall not be one of personal whims but of general laws; that local sovereignty shall be full and inviolate in local affairs, and national power ample and supreme in matters of national concern; that good faith is the legal as well as moral foundation of our economic and social life; that representative government is the true expression of genuine and practical democracy; that citizens must elect honest men to transact public business or suffer the natural consequences if they place dishonest men in power; that obedience to law is the only condition of freedom and safety—these are the life-giving and life-sustaining elements which John Marshall gave to the American Nation.

PRESIDENT
SECRETARY OF STATE.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.
CALEB B. SMITH.
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.
SALMON P. CHASE.
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
GIDEON WELLES SEC. OF THE NAVY.
EDWIN M. STANTON SEC. OF WAR.
EDWARD BATES ATT. GEN.
VICE PRESIDENT
HANNIBAL HAMLIN.
MONTGOMERY BLAIR P.M. GEN.
AND CABINET.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By ELIHU ROOT

Former United States Senator and Secretary of State of the United States

THE life of Abraham Lincoln is full of appeals to the imagination; its dramatic quality absorbs attention. The humble beginnings, the early poverty, the slender opportunity for even the simplest education, the swift rise from the ordinary lot to the heights of station and of power, the singular absence of those aids by which personal ambition commonly seeks its ends, the transcendent moral quality of the cause which he came to lead, the desperate struggle, the triumphant success, the tragic ending, the startling contrast between the abuse and ridicule to which he was so long subjected, and the honor and glory for all time which he achieved; all these tend completely to fill the minds of those who read or listen to the story of Lincoln.

There is another view of Lincoln's life, however, which we ought not to overlook, and from which a useful lesson may be learned. He was intensely practical. While he never for a moment lost sight of the great ends towards which he struggled, or wavered in his devotion to the eternal principles which justified those ends, he never assumed that his conclusions would be accepted merely because he knew they were right, however clearly he might state them. He did not expect other people's minds to work as his mind worked or to reach his conclusions because he thought they ought to reach them, or to feel as he felt because he thought they ought to feel so. He never relied upon authority or dictation or compulsion upon the minds of others. Never concealing or obscuring his ideals, avowing them, declaring them, constant to them, setting them high for guidance as if among the stars, he kept his feet on the earth, he minded his steps, he studied the country to be traversed, its obstacles, its possible aids to progress. He studied the material with which he had to work,—the infinite varieties of human nature, the good, the bad, and predominantly the indifferent, the widely differing material interests of sections and of occupations, the inherited traditions and prejudices, the passions and weaknesses, sympathies and dislikes, the ignorance and misunderstanding, the successive stages of slowly developing opinion, the selfishness and the altruism. He understood that to lead a nation in emergency he had to bring all these forces into such relations to his design and to each other that the resultant of forces would be in the direction of his purpose. This was the field of Lincoln's great struggle, and here he won by infinite patience and sagacity. During those terrible years of the Rebellion he was not disturbing himself about what principles he ought to maintain or what end he ought to seek. He was struggling with the weaknesses and perversities of human nature at home. He was smoothing away obstacles and converting enemies and strengthening friends, and bending all possible motives and desires and prejudices into the direction of his steady purpose. Many people thought while he was doing this that he was trifling, that he was yielding where he ought to have been splendidly courageous and peremptory. He understood as they did not how to bend his material without breaking it; he understood as they did not how many a jest bridged over a difficult situation, and made it possible to avoid a quarrel injurious to the Union cause.

Lincoln's whole life had been a training for just this kind of struggle. He had begun at the bottom in a community of simple, poor, and for the most part uneducated people, and he had learned in his contests for the State Legislature to win the support of those people by actual personal contact and influence, standing absolutely on a level with them, and without any possible assumption of superiority or right of dictation. He had moved along up the scale of association with people of broader minds and greater education and more trained intelligence, developing himself as he moved on, but never changing his method of winning agreement. This was always by a frank and honest declaration of principle and purpose accompanied by the most skilful and sympathetic appeal to the human nature of the man with whom he dealt, based upon a careful study of the capacities and prejudices and motives of that man.

He had three qualities of the highest value. The first was sympathy,—genuine appreciative sympathy for all his fellow-men. Contemplation of human nature furnishes nothing more encouraging than the general response of mankind to such a quality; it cannot be simulated; it must be real; and then it begets its like in others. Secretary Stanton used to get out of patience with Lincoln because he was all the time pardoning men who ought to be shot; but no one can tell how much the knowledge of that quality in him drew the people of the country towards him and won their confidence and support. Above all, that quality enabled him to understand men, to appreciate how they felt, and why they acted as they did, and how they could be set right when they were wrong.

The second quality was a sense of proportion, with which is always associated humor or a sense of humor. He knew intuitively what was big and important and must be insisted upon, and what might seem big but was really small and unimportant and might be sacrificed without harm. Such a statement may seem a matter of course and of little consequence; but, if we look back in history we can see that a large part of the most bitter controversies in politics and religion and statecraft and opinion in all fields have been about matters which really were not in themselves of the slightest consequence; and we may realize how important it is in great crises to have leaders who can form the same kind of judgment about the relative importance of questions at issue that future generations may readily form in the reading of history.

The third quality of Lincoln's was his subordination of himself to his cause. He liked to get on in the world, of course, as any normal man does; but the way he got on was by thinking about his job, not by thinking about himself. During all these years he was not thinking about making Abraham Lincoln famous; he was thinking about putting an end to slavery and preserving the Union. It is interesting to observe that the two who have attained the highest pinnacles are not to be found among the millions of Americans who have dreamed of power and fame for themselves. Washington and Lincoln reached their pre-eminence by thinking about their work and forgetting themselves.

Lincoln never made the mistake of using words—either oral or written—merely for his own satisfaction. Many fine sentiments are uttered about public affairs which are not really designed to have an effect upon anybody except the speaker or writer whose feelings are gratified by expression. They are like the use of expletives—profane and otherwise—which simply relieve the feelings of the speaker. Lincoln never made this mistake. When he spoke or wrote, his objective was always the mind of somebody else. His method with individuals is well illustrated by the incident when a committee of gentlemen called upon him to object to the use of negro troops. They said they were

all patriotic citizens, that their sons were serving in the Union Army, and were cultivated gentlemen, and they objected to having negroes put upon the same level. Mr. Lincoln said: "Well, gentlemen, if you would rather have your sons die for a black man than have a black man die for your sons, I suppose there is nothing more to be said." This was a wholly new view of the subject. The objectors were prepared to stand for all time against arguments designed to force them to abandon their prejudice. Lincoln, however, had instantly found the line of least resistance which left the prejudice undisturbed and at the same time left them nothing to say; so the objection ended.

Another illustration on a broader field is to be found in the great debates with Douglas. From first to last, in these debates he insisted upon the fundamental proposition that slavery was morally wrong and ought not to continue. He knew, however, that the conservatism and the material interests and the unawakened conscience of the North could not then be arrayed in favor of destroying slavery in the slave States at the expense of destroying the Constitution. Accordingly, he carefully and consistently disclaimed any such proposal, and limited himself to demanding that slavery should be restricted to the States where it already existed under the protection of the Constitution, and that its extension should be prevented just as it had been prevented by the ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory in 1787, in confidence that if restricted it would die a natural death just as the framers of the Constitution believed it would die when they agreed to the compromises of the Constitution. Upon that proposition to prevent the extension of slavery because slavery was wrong, he enlisted the public opinion of the North and made possible the election of a Republican President in 1860. In the struggle of the South against that proposition a new situation was created, and in 1863 the whole North accepted the complete emancipation upon which they would have divided fatally five years before.

The Emancipation Proclamation itself illustrates the same wise solicitude to keep the people upon whose support he relied close behind his leadership. After declaring that the slaves shall be free, he concludes with the following paragraph:

> "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

It would be difficult to conceive of a broader appeal to more varied kinds of men and phases of opinion than is contained in this single sentence of thirty-three words. It commands the interest and conciliates the support of all who love justice, of all who revere the Constitution, of all who are determined that the sacrifices of the country in the war shall not have been in vain, of all who regard the judgment of mankind, of all whose sympathy is enlisted by action reverent in spirit and seeking for Divine guidance. It claims no credit for Abraham Lincoln, but it places the great act with a fitting sense of proportion on a basis to command universal approval and support.

One of the most valuable results of Lincoln's training was that he understood the necessity of political organization for the accomplishment of political ends. He knew that to attain a great public purpose multitudes of men must be induced to lay aside or postpone or in some way subordinate their minor differences of opinion, and to move together on the lines of major policy. He used all the resources of party organization to hold the people of the North to the support of the Northern armies in the field. Lincoln was a politician, the best practical politician of his time. If he had not been that,

the Northern armies would have been abandoned; the Union would have been broken to the infinite injury of both sections; and slavery would have continued, no one knows how long,—probably until another war had been fought. It will be useful to remember that Abraham Lincoln was a politician. The word is often used as a term of reproach. Such a use indicates the most superficial thinking, or, rather, failure to think. To be a corrupt and self-seeking politician ought of course to be a reproach, just as it is a discredit to be a corrupt or unfair business man. Politics is the practical exercise of the art of self-government, and somebody must attend to it if we are to have self-government; somebody must study it and learn the art and exercise patience and sympathy and skill to bring the multitude of opinions and wishes of self-governing people into such order that some prevailing opinion may be expressed and peaceably accepted. Otherwise, confusion will result either in dictatorship or anarchy. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician. Everyone ought to be, as Lincoln was.

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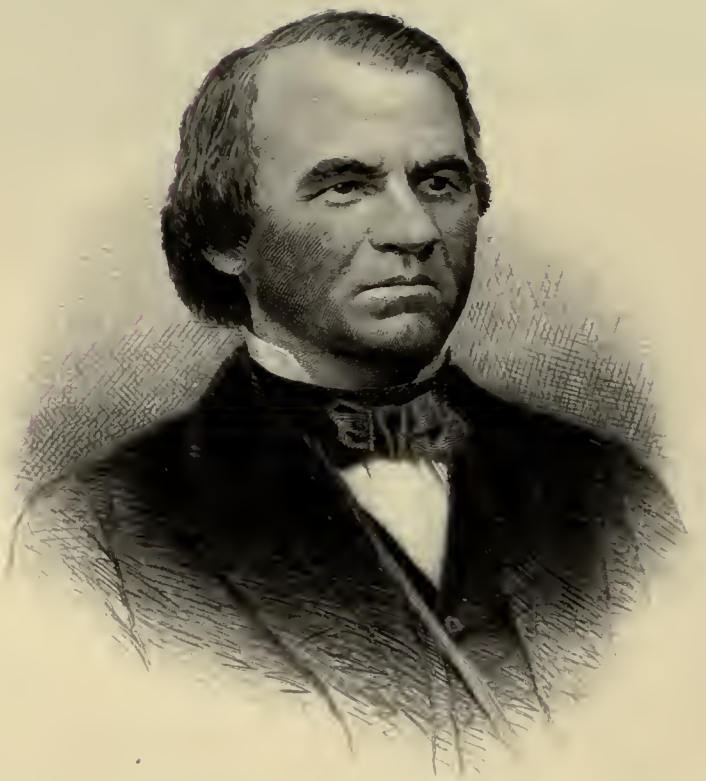

Andrew Johnson

ANDREW JOHNSON

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Professor of Government in Harvard University

ANDREW JOHNSON, second Republican President, down to the Civil War had been a States' Rights Democrat in the House of Representatives, as Governor of Tennessee, and as United States Senator. His career as a Republican began when, because of his active opposition to the secession of his State, he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee in 1862. He made himself felt in that service, and was therefore selected out of a large field of possibilities by Abraham Lincoln to be his running mate in the election of 1864. Even then he was officially the candidate of the "Union" or "National Union" party, a name taken on by the Republicans in this campaign in order to encourage recruiting of former Democrats and border State men.

By the assassination of Lincoln, April 15, 1865, Johnson unexpectedly became President. He retained Lincoln's cabinet and acted upon what we know to have been Lincoln's general idea of starting the process of reconstruction, by the formation of new State governments in nearly all the eleven "Wandering Sisters." That policy was a form acceptable to a majority of the Republicans, but for the disturbance caused by the Negro question. President Johnson, like Lincoln, was in origin a southern poor white; he intended to base the new Southern governments on poor whites, and was interested in the poor negroes.

The radical Republicans in Congress therefore organized against him, and read him out of the party. In the violent controversy of 1866–1867 they used their compact two-thirds majorities to override his vetoes and reduce his power as President. Johnson who was by nature a rough and uncompromising man, never afraid of a fight, hit back; and the Radical Republican leaders undertook to break the President by an impeachment. Whatever his personal faults, Johnson's real offense was that he disagreed with the Thaddeus Stephens-Charles Sumner group. Fortunate it was in vain that they tried to establish the dangerous doctrine that the President is under a parliamentary responsibility to Congress.

Johnson's reconstruction plan was laid aside; but as President he showed native strength and administrative skill. He supported the far-sighted American policy of Secretary Seward. He had the personal good-will of General Grant, and other good Republicans. Though the responsibility of reconstruction was too much for him, he deserves to be remembered by the Republican Party as almost the first, and one of the most eminent, of the Southern Republicans.

ULYSSES S. GRANT

By CALVIN COOLIDGE
Governor of Massachusetts

WHEN Lincoln was inaugurated few men in the United States seemed of less consequence than Captain Grant, who, although thirty-nine years old, was working at Galena in his father's leather store for lower wages than many elevator boys receive to-day; and yet because he happened in the way of opportunity, because he did the very best he could in every place he had, accepting every opportunity that came to him, without a thought to personal advancement and ready always for the duty next at hand, he soon became, in spite of his distaste for war, the greatest military captain of his time, and then, in spite of inexperience in politics, one of the greatest of our Presidents.

Ulysses Grant was modest, simple and dependable. He did not have a complicated mind or complicated motives. He had the training of a soldier without love for the trade. He quit the army, which he did not like, because he thought in time of peace it was a frittering away of time. He saw no glamour in gold lace or epaulets. He never quickened at the rattle of a drum. He would have been content to trudge along through life without distinction, without rank or fame. He was not deeply versed in the arts of war or statesmanship or of diplomacy. He was not gifted with imagination, but had the qualities of loyalty, determination, force and fearlessness. He was guiltless of ingratitude. He stood true to his friends. He asked advice and he was not ashamed to follow it. He sought his country's glory—not his own. He loved peace because he had experienced war, but never thought to use the cant of peace to cover feeble purpose or lure votes. He never hesitated in the face of war, or dawdled with an armistice before the enemy acknowledged their complete defeat. His name is still synonymous with "Unconditional Surrender."

While he was President, America ranked high among the nations. Her citizens were treated with unqualified respect in every corner of the earth. His term was marked by progress and much of our prosperity had its foundation then. He was consistent in the firmness of his foreign policy. He first established arbitration in adjusting international disputes. He stood unflinchingly for the Monroe Doctrine. He favored the protective tariff and urged a strong American Merchant Marine. He was the first of our chief magistrates to call attention to the peril of an ignorant foreign-born electorate, lacking in knowledge of our institutions. He favored the disfranchisement of all who could not read and write the English language after a fixed probation. "If they did not take interest enough in our language to acquire sufficient knowledge of it to enable them to study the institutions and laws of the country intelligently, I would not confer upon them the right to make such laws or to select those who do." It will be well if every boy in the United States shall read the story of his life.

U. S. Grant

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

By SIMEON D. FESS
Representative in Congress

THE convention plan of selecting Presidential candidates was adopted back in the 30's. From that day to the Civil War, Democratic conventions were largely dominated by the leadership of Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas. The Whig conventions were under the domination of Clay, Webster and Seward. Clay was the unhappy example of always being nominated when no Whig could be elected and always being defeated for nomination when no Democrat could be elected. Webster was refused the nomination not from lack of ability but rather availability, by too great a prominence in issues without decisive enough convictions. Seward was denied a leadership belonging to him both from ability and prominence largely because of the unexpected and rapid popularity of Mr. Lincoln in forcing to the fore the real issue before the country.

From 1860 to 1876 each election presented an outstanding figure which dominated party conventions. Lincoln in 1864, Grant in 1868 and 1872. In 1876 the situation was quite different. The war had developed a host of leaders of no small calibre. Every section, if not every State, had its quota. New England presented one of the most magnetic leaders produced in a generation in Blaine. New York had Conkling; Ohio, Hayes; Indiana, Oliver P. Morton; Kentucky, Benjamin H. Bristow. These names were closely identified with national issues prominently before the country. It soon developed that Blaine was the candidate most likely to control the convention. Conkling's influence would therefore be thrown to the man who could defeat the "plumed knight." It was the administration influence in the field to defeat the leading candidate.

Out of 756 votes the first ballot stood:

Blaine	285	from 36 States
Morton	125	
Bristow	113	
Conkling	99	
Hayes	61	

On the seventh and decisive ballot the vote stood:

Hayes	384
Blaine	351
Bristow	21

This was the first convention since the days of Clay where the popular idol was turned down for a man eclipsed by the overshadowing party leader. However, Hayes was the best fitted man for leadership if judged from the standard of ability and availability. His character of mind and attitude toward public questions did not meet with the approval of party leaders in the councils of the party, which fact has erroneously led to unfavorable conclusions as to his success as a President.

History must decree to him a very high place as a public servant in the days of reconstruction. His nomination and election were justified in his marked fitness and in achievements before and after his election.

In birth all that a notable ancestry both paternal and maternal can supply was his.
In childhood training nothing was wanting to fit him for the highest career.
In education both at home, college and university he was the most favored.
In choice of associations he was equally highly favored.

1. Teachers—the greatest.
2. Friends and associates—the best.
3. Books—such as serve to develop great soul power.

The result of this training is what would be expected where a youth of all the advantages of birth, family connection, simple and frugal habits, yet abundant financial resource, high ideals and family pride in the possibility of achievement, is started on a career marked out by an aspiring and wealthy relative ambitious for family renown.

His were the college days before the arrival of the intellectual prig. He thrived upon the intellectual democracy of his law professor, Judge Story, and the vigorous nationalism of his chief study, the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall. He reveled in the fundamentals of American political ideals and never apologized for the Federal Constitution or the American institutions developed under the organic law.

The aspirations for this nation begun in the Hayes home were carried out in his college days at Kenyon and later in his university days in the law school of Harvard. Colleges in that day did not deem aspirations for high ideals, both personal and professional, as inconsistent with a virile manhood. They maintained an atmosphere in which a student was stimulated to high resolutions. Young Hayes in his famous diary is witness to this university product. It found unmistakable expression in a New Year's resolution, January 1, 1845: "I will strive to become in manners, morals and feelings a true gentleman."

His conception of success was well expressed in an early entry of his diary:

> "I never desired other than honorable distinction. The reputation which I desire is not that momentary eminence which is gained without merit and lost without regret. . . . Let me triumph as a man or not at all."

When the Civil War came it found him in the early days of a struggling lawyer, who had recently been married to Miss Lucy Webb. The Hayes brand of patriot is best expressed in his own words then uttered:

> "I would prefer to go into the war if I knew I was to die or be killed in the course of it, than to live through and after it without taking any part in it."

This statement was corroborated by a career from Gauley River to Fisher's Hill, which saw the private in a series of promotions to Major General, after a service of four years in which there were shot from under him four horses, and in which he was wounded six times, and during which time he received the highest commendation of his superior generals, including General Grant.

At South Mountain he continued to command his troops after his right arm was shattered. Of the eleven other Presidents of the United States who had served as officers only Monroe was ever wounded in action. It was later said of him that he was a man "who during the dark and stormy days of the Rebellion, when those who are invincible in peace and invisible in battle were uttering brave words to cheer their

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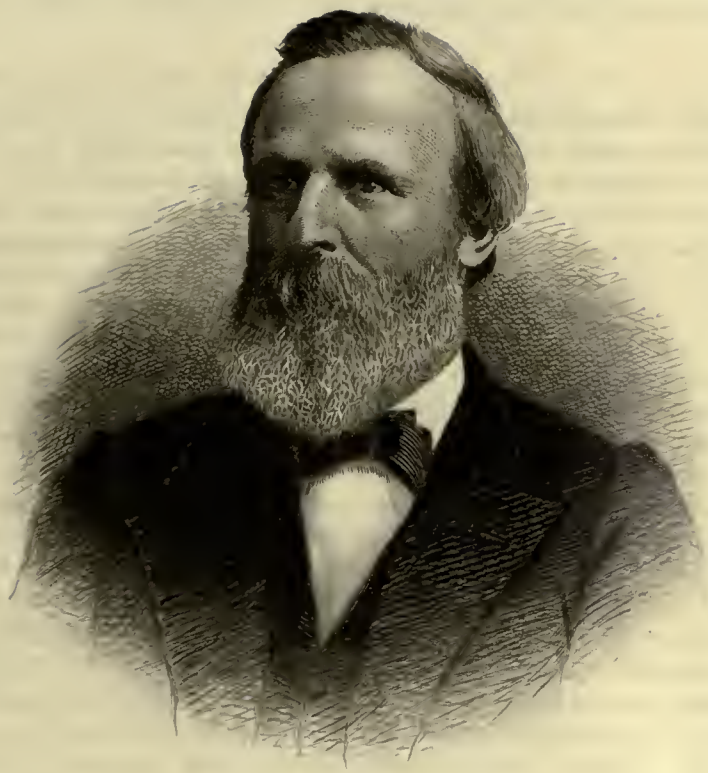

Sincerely:
R. B. Hayes

neighbors on, himself, in the forefront of battle, followed his leaders and his flag until the authority of government was established from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the River round to the Sea."

His gallant leadership was no less popular at home than on the field. Having been nominated for Congress while in the thickest of the fight, his friend Smith urged him to come home to electioneer. His reply is the Hayes brand of patriotic duty:

> "An officer fit for duty who at this crisis would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in Congress ought to be scalped. You may feel perfectly sure I shall do no such thing."

Of course he was triumphantly elected.

The War had brought to the nation problems of great seriousness, whose solution demanded the best brain, the highest type of courage and the most powerful prestige within the country. The Thirty-ninth Congress stands out in history for its ability in great statesmen. The most outstanding delegation in that body was from Ohio. To the powerful group numbering Garfield, Ashley, Bingham, Delano, Lawrence, Schenck, and Shellabarger was now to be added Hayes. He immediately took front rank in important war legislation. Before the end of the Thirty-ninth Congress he was drafted to make the contest for the governorship in Ohio, where the militant Democracy was endangering Republican success by putting forth as its standard-bearer the distinguished national Democratic leader, Allen G. Thurman. General Hayes brought to the governorship not only a highly trained mind well grounded in political science, but an experience which at once guaranteed a high degree of success.

His various messages and state papers at once marked him as a statesman of sound and fundamental principles. He was unanimously renominated and was re-elected governor over another distinguished national leader, George H. Pendleton. His second term was so signally successful that his name was persistently mentioned in connection with the senatorship until he authorized the statement that he would not allow his name to be presented for the seat then occupied by Senator Sherman. He was nominated without his consent and over his protest for Congress in the Second District. He had sent dispatches to Smith, of the *Gazette,* and Davis, declining to accept. But in party interests he finally accepted what he declared must be a losing fight. Here he suffered his only defeat after running far ahead of his ticket. While he was defeated by 1500, his Republican colleague in the First District was defeated by more than double that figure. In this campaign he sounded the warning against the Democratic policy for an unsound currency. They had carried the elections in Ohio in 1873 on the soft-money issue, and under the leadership of the famous Bill Allen. In 1874 they again carried most of the State offices and a majority of the delegation in Congress—thirteen out of twenty. In 1875, with this handicap, Republicans turned for the third time to General Hayes, who had to his credit the defeat of two of Democracy's leaders and national figures, Allen G. Thurman and George H. Pendleton. Notwithstanding that he had persisted up to the very last moment against the candidacy, he was nominated without his consent by a vote of 396 to 151 for Judge Taft, who moved for unanimous nomination. In the campaign he defeated the popular governor, Bill Allen, by a decisive vote on the issues then before the country.

In the midst of his third term, the National Convention was held in Cincinnati. General Hayes' name and fame were eclipsed by the more popular names of Blaine, Morton, Conkling, etc. His was not a magnetic career. It was only distinguished and sub-

stantial. The only contingency needed for the highest promotion was a deadlock between the favorites in the Convention. In such a situation Hayes supplied all the qualifications of education and training, of ability and courage, of prestige and reputation, of a splendid standard-bearer by having defeated three times as many national figures. He was the inevitable choice to lead the nation as he had led his own State.

His great success was in what he did, notwithstanding his administration was not popular with Republican politicians. While he was distinctively a party man, he was not a spoilsman. His determination to inaugurate reform in the Civil Service won for him enemies in his own party, such as Conkling. His policy toward the South won for him enemies among Republican leaders, such as Blaine. His attitude for sound money which compelled him to veto many measures won for him enemies tinctured with soft-money heresies. These cumulative disaffections among leaders in his own party compelled him to abide by his announced decision when first elected that he would not stand for re-election in 1880,—in sharp contrast with recent utterances of the modern opportunist. Rutherford B. Hayes was a man whose promise was law so far as his conduct could make it; in him no mental nor moral dishonesty could find place.

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J. A. Garfield

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

By LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN
United States Senator

OF twenty-three elected Presidents of the Republic three have died by an assassin's hand. It is the price of free government, and those three chosen chief magistrates have given, it may seem, more than their part. The executive power of the American people was visualized in them to their assassins. Murder's crimson hand smote them because they were the visible form of the people's power acting in the orderly channels of established government.

The three victims of assassination, by a strange dispensation of fate, all sprang from the humble walks of life. Not one was born of rank or power. Poverty waited at their cradle and obscurity was a common birthright with the unknown millions of their generation who went unheralded to their graves. Toil attended their childhood and work with their boyish hands fulfilled the law delivered to mankind from the days of Moses. In the beginning they earned their bread in the sweat of their faces and so they lived until their fellow-men trusted them with other duties and at last with the high office where murder struck them down. Their slayers assailed the people whom they typified and the law whose majesty they upheld.

Garfield's life was an example of natural causes and results among American freemen under institutional government. He trod the lowly path from obscurity and poverty to the great office in which he died. No false pride hindered him on his way. Honest work, however humble, was never spurned. He rose from every task fitted for the one ahead. Armed rebellion animated by slavery assailed the Union. Organized resistance to law and freedom found him ready. He passed from civilian to soldier, still answering the call of duty. Courage, devotion and service marked Garfield the soldier.

Responding to Lincoln's request, he entered the House of Representatives when the government needed loyalty and ability at Washington. Here he gave his country unstinted service and ranked high among the varied lines of legislative life. A senator he became from Ohio, the unanimous choice of his party, and then swiftly followed his nomination and election as President. The goal of ambition, the highest station assigned to duty, had fallen to his lot. At the threshold of his great office morbid depravity ended all that was mortal of Garfield. A spotless private life and an unsullied public service are the inheritance of posterity from Garfield.

C. A. Arthur

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR

By BENJAMIN B. ODELL

Former Governor of New York

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, the twenty-first President of the United States, was a Republican because of his earlier environment, and his belief that a man was entitled to that which he earned by the "sweat of his face."

In his chosen profession of the law he had frequent opportunities to evidence his faith by deeds that resulted in establishing the truth in the Empire State that liberty was not a mere shibboleth, but was, indeed, a fact.

Arthur's Republicanism was of a Stalwart character; that is, loyalty to the principles of party and the belief that such principles could best be maintained through organization which recognized the services of those who produced results.

In 1880, as a delegate to the Republican National convention, the future President followed the leadership of Roscoe Conkling, who sought a third term for General Grant. Out of this convention came the nomination of James A. Garfield as President, and, as a recognition of the defeated minority, the selection of Arthur as a candidate for Vice-President. As young men, both of the candidates had taught in the same school, a coincidence worthy of note.

The assassination of President Garfield made Arthur President, an office which he assumed under the most distressing circumstances because of the rift in party lines, due to the resignation of the two New York Senators, whose re-election by the Legislature of the State of New York he labored with others to secure as a vindication of their action and as a rebuke to the President for ignoring organization advice.

Doubts, however, were soon dispelled and Arthur demonstrated that he had fully measured his responsibilities. Through his political activities as the responsible head of the Republican organization of the State, in his services during the Civil War, he had not alone the opportunity to know men, but also to become acquainted with the methods of business, both private and public, and was therefore better equipped than most men for the great responsibilities which came to him as President.

It would be idle to disclaim the fact that his faults were no more nor no less than generally fall to the lot of mankind, yet it is also true that there remained much to be commended, and to make of his achievements something to be gratefully remembered by those whose faith in Republican principles remains unshaken by time and by the efforts of those who in the guise of reforms would substitute for party organization disorganization and chaos in the administration of public affairs.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

By CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
Former United States Senator

PEOPLE who are engaged in the same occupations become mentally and temperamentally and often physically much alike. This rule does not prevail with Presidents of the United States. The eminent men who have filled that office were as different in all respects as is possible. None of them was more distinguished for individual and original characteristics than the twenty-third President, Benjamin Harrison. He was the most captivating of public speakers and personally most unpopular. The latter peculiarity has prevented a just estimate of him and his administration by his contemporaries, but history will rank him very high. He was active in many spheres of public service and uniformly successful in all. He began at the bar without fortune or friends and soon became one of its leaders in his State of Indiana. He enlisted as a Second Lieutenant, early in the Civil War, in the Union Army, and by ability, courage and achievements rose to the rank of Brigadier General. He won the high regard of his associates and the attention of the country as a United States Senator. Few administrations have had to meet so many difficult conditions. A large majority of both houses of Congress were almost fanatically favorable to the unlimited coinage of silver and the corruption of the currency. President Harrison so clearly elucidated the fundamental bases of credit and prosperity in sound money and a standard recognized by the great industrial and commercial nations of the world that he called a halt in this legislation and by unbending hostility defeated it. His party was so aroused by the disfranchisement of the negro in the South that they were determined by a Force Bill to either enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution or impose the penalties provided by the Fourteenth. He saw that such legislation would revive and intensify the passions of the Civil War. The proposed law failed and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are still dead sections of our Constitution. We are now recognizing the necessity of Americanism. American citizens have often been without the protection of the flag in their persons and investments in foreign countries, but Harrison was alert and active for their safety. When, because of revolutionary conditions, American sailors were attacked in the streets of Valparaiso and several of them killed and many wounded, he demanded with such vigor both apology and indemnities for the families of the dead and for the wounded that the full measure of his claims was speedily granted. He was a great international lawyer and brought about a settlement of the long pending and critical disputes with Great Britain in the Behring Sea which satisfied American opinion and American honor. He strengthened Federal courts by a selection of judges for merit and in disregard of partisan claims and political pressure. His appointments won from his successor, Grover Cleveland, who was also a firm friend of the judiciary, this praise, "I cannot see how he did it. I thought I recognized the importance of the Federal courts resisting mere party pressure and giving to my appointments jealous care, but I must confess that Harrison has beaten me." The Army, and particularly the Navy, was greatly improved by him. Under his

administration a Pan-American congress met at Washington which was the beginning of successful efforts for closer relations with South American republics, and a policy of commercial reciprocity was inaugurated. He selected an able and experienced cabinet, with the brilliant James G. Blaine as Secretary of State. He loved to meet and with an open mind discuss public questions with those most distinguished in their specialties. The conclusions he arrived at were embodied in state papers of remarkable clearness and power, and though signed by the Secretary at the head of the Department, were the compositions of the President. Dr. Cadman, the eloquent Brooklyn preacher, in a recent address on orators, says, "Perfect taste in public speech was as nearly attained by President Harrison as by any publicist of the last thirty years." Though one of the most felicitous speakers of his time, he had a repellent manner. Senator Hoar, quoting a fellow Senator, said, "Harrison could address an audience of ten thousand and capture them all. But if each one was presented to him in private, he would make him his enemy." I had occasion to know that under this unfortunate mannerism, which was the result of the antagonisms, and struggles of his early career, was a warm heart, keen appreciation of services or kindness and unselfish and devoted friendship. The all around training of Harrison supplemented by tireless industry and rare intelligence gave him an unequaled equipment for the Presidency and its duties and responsibilities were never more ably met.

W. McKinley

WILLIAM McKINLEY

By WILLIAM R. DAY
Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

WILLIAM McKINLEY, boy and man, was an American of the best type. Born neither to poverty nor riches, he was reared in an American home where he learned the simple lessons of right living and consideration for the feelings of others which ever characterized him. A high sense of duty and an inborn sympathy for his fellow-men characterized his career from its beginning to its tragic close.

From a scholar he became a soldier because he believed his country needed him. Faithful and long continued service in the halls of Congress and as Governor of his State prepared him for an administration as Chief Executive which lifted his country from financial despondency to the greatest prosperity in its history. He conducted a short and victorious war to a triumphant and liberal peace, which enlarged the boundaries of freedom by setting an oppressed people in the way of enlightenment and self-government.

In statesmanship he measured to the standard of Burke in his "disposition to preserve and ability to improve." He formed his opinions cautiously, freely consulting others, but never controlled by them. He believed no calling greater than his country's service, and no duty higher than good citizenship. He believed in the good sense and justice of the American people, and had all of Lincoln's faith in the soundness of their ultimate judgment.

He ever kept in touch with the companions of his youth and early manhood, and had the confidence and esteem of a widening circle of friends attracted to him by his genial and cordial nature.

With so much to make life dear, this strong and gentle man did not falter when the summons came. He entered the shadow of death with no murmur at his fate, leaning on the rod and staff which had comforted his fathers.

Serene, hopeful, and wise, he left to his countrymen the example of a life devoted to the doing of each day's duty cheerfully and well. Believing that the building of the American home was the highest duty of citizenship, he was an example of consecration to its best and highest virtues in a life devoted to those bound to him in the intimate association of family and kindred.

Such lives do not perish. The memory of William McKinley grows brighter with the years. The nobleness of his life, the sublime heroism of his death, shall never perish from the thoughts of men. He lives in thousands of homes which reflect the wisdom of his statesmanship. He lives in the beneficence of his example at every hearth, where succeeding generations shall recount the strength and beauty of his character and tell again the story of his life.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

By LEONARD WOOD
General of the United States Army

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was the most dominating and inspiring figure in our national life since Abraham Lincoln. The most dominating and inspiring because he stood for all that is best in public and private life. He stood for the home, the family, the square deal. He stood for America first—and a long way first. His sympathies were as broad as the world, and were limited neither by race nor creed. Priest, pastor and rabbi came to him with equal confidence. In his relationship with men he brought to bear the human element to an extent which few are capable of.

He was modest because of his wisdom. He feared nothing, unless it was duty undone. He was a brave soldier, an excellent citizen, a wise leader. He believed in arbitration, was a lover of peace, but realized that peace can be best maintained and arbitration most successfully employed when a nation is not only just and righteous but also strong. He believed that we should be prepared to meet the organized strength of wrong with the disciplined strength of right.

He was clean of speech. He had great respect for women. He believed that no man was fit to be a citizen who was unwilling to serve his country to the limit of his capacity in war and in peace. He stood for one language, one flag, and one loyalty.

He was a writer of ability, a scientist of no mean merit, and a lover of nature; and although intensely American, was, in the breadth of his culture and experience, a citizen of the world. He was as much at home in a mining camp as he was at a meeting of scientists. He understood the cow-boy's life and point of view as thoroughly as he understood that of the man of affairs.

He always sought to surround himself with the ablest advisers; he had the ability to co-ordinate their efforts; thus demonstrating the two great essentials of a really great leader.

He was a many-sided man, of vast ability, great courage, energy and resourcefulness. He never abused authority, was accessible to the poor and the humble.

In time of peace he gave the best that was in him to the service of his country. In time of war he offered his life freely in her service.

The youth of America will ever draw high inspiration and guidance from the life and career of Theodore Roosevelt.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

By ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY
President of Yale University

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT has been great as a judge, great as an administrator, and greatest of all as a man.

As a judge his most salient characteristic was breadth of vision. He had inherited from his father that combination of legal and political wisdom which enabled him to value alike the traditions of the bench and the moral sense of the people. In matters affecting the content or the administration of the law he was open-minded and progressive. His decisions regarding capital and labor showed that he was twenty years ahead of his time in recognizing industrial facts. He looked at the work of the courts from the broad moral standpoint rather than the narrow professional one. But in questions of judicial authority he was conservative. He believed with Lincoln that justice could be best secured and popular government best safeguarded by maintaining the authority and dignity of the courts as the highest exponent of public opinion.

The same mental quality showed itself in his work as an administrator. He knew how to deal with men of every kind. As Governor of the Philippines, he won the regard of the natives and the respect of the church. As Secretary of War, he understood and quieted the movements of popular feeling in Cuba and Panama. As President he kept America's honor unsullied and unattacked amid most critical conditions. Nor was his clear sight confined to matters of diplomacy. He recognized, as hardly any other President has recognized, the need for businesslike conduct of government affairs. Witness his efforts in behalf of a national budget; efforts which if properly seconded and continued would not only have saved the country from grave losses of money, but have made for higher standards of public efficiency and public service.

But it is in his human qualities that Taft shines brightest. The man is greater than the office, be that office what it will. Unselfish, companionable, tolerant of difference of opinion and impatient only of falsehood or ingratitude, he is the one man of a century who stands out larger after leaving the Presidency than when clothed with all the dignities of that position.

Wm H Taft

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Part IV

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1920

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W G Harding

HARDING
ENTERED BY FRANK B. WILLIS

Ex-Governor Willis in nominating Ohio's favorite son said:

REPUBLICAN success is always desirable—in 1920 it is imperative. Called into being by Abraham Lincoln to save the Union, the Republican Party merited its long years of triumph through its valiant service to the Republic and its promotion of the people's progress. In the fevered atmosphere that settled about a world war-worn, weary, pestilential vapors have sprung up perilling the peace of the world and the perpetuity of our own Republic.

The Republican Party here assembled will go forth to victory on a platform pronouncing unequivocally in favor of constitutional government and obedience to law; in favor of repeal of war-time legislation; in favor of legislation to promote industrial peace; in favor of the ratification of only such a peace treaty as, while fully discharging our obligations to other nations, will at the same time protect unequivocally every American right and reserve for decision by our own people exclusively every purely American question; and in favor of the maintenance of the principle of an American protective tariff and an American merchant marine. These are bound to be the dominant issues of the forthcoming campaign. Then, why not name as our candidate the man whose record is the party platform, for the record of Ohio's candidate is the record of the Republican Party in the last decade.

In personal character he has the dignity, urbanity and breadth of vision of McKinley. Like that other great Ohioan, he is one of the common folks—best loved by those who know him best. With no working capital other than his own ability and his capacity for toil, he has built up a prosperous business employing many men, and in the shop where he works side by side with his men there has never been an hour of labor trouble in twenty-five years of friendly co-operation.

COOLIDGE
ENTERED BY FREDERICK H. GILLETT

SPEAKER GILLETT PRESENTED THE NAME OF MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR AS FOLLOWS:

A YEAR ago hardly a man outside of New England knew who was Governor of Massachusetts. To-day every man and woman in this vast audience, every lover of ordered liberty in the United States, knows and rejoices that the Governor of Massachusetts is Calvin Coolidge.

Opportunity, which knocks once at every man's door, came to him and found him waiting her summons, calm, courageous, resolute to do his duty though the heavens fall.

Isn't that the type of man you want for President to-day? Nominate him and you rally behind him that underlying devotion to our public security, that faith in our republican institutions which when once aroused is overpowering and irresistible. He is supported by no special class or interest, but he attracts all those who believe that "obedience to law is liberty," who wish this to be a government of laws and not of men.

A boyhood on a lonely farm in Vermont bred in him industry, frugality, self-reliance. The granite hills seemed to have moulded his grave, indomitable character. Family self-denial gave him a college education at Amherst to broaden his native talents. Then he practised law. But his neighbors soon recognized the value of this quiet, sagacious man, and drafted him into the public service, and he glided from one useful station to another till he reached the highest office of our State. He is not showy nor spectacular, but he never disappoints.

Do you demand for your candidate a man of native ability? Take him who, an unknown country lawyer, won the confidence of the Legislature in his first term. Do you want a profound political thinker? Take the author of that inspiring volume "Have Faith in Massachusetts." Do you want courage? Take the Governor who just before an election sent the dauntless message: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody anywhere any time." Do you want a winner? Take the man who has never concealed his convictions, who has never lowered his standards and who has never known defeat.

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Calvin Coolidge

LODGE ACCEPTS THE WILSON CHALLENGE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS THE GREAT CAMPAIGN ISSUE, HE DECLARES—COUNTRY'S SAFETY AND INDEPENDENCE AT STAKE—URGES A RETURN TO THE OLD PROCESS OF LAW AND ORDER, LEGISLATION TO COMBAT THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND A CONSTRUCTIVE MEXICAN POLICY—BITTER WORDS FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, WHOSE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IS HELD TO BE UN-AMERICAN

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE'S OPENING ADDRESS AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

WE are met here to take the first, the most decisive step in the political campaign which is to determine the party control of this great Government for the next four years. It is a solemn moment, fraught with vast possibilities of either good or evil. Well worth our while it is just here "upon this bank and shoal of time," to pause for an instant while we glance swiftly upon the scene in which we are to fight our battle. Behind us lies the greatest war of history, now for the most part fallen silent, together with all the hideous advances of science in methods of taking human life, which battened upon it, halted and quiescent. The tempest has subsided but the ocean still heaves and rolls with cresting waves, while the dead seas of the storm which has passed, crash sullenly against the shores that shelter and sustain the vast fabric which we are wont to call our civilization. We find ourselves gazing upon the problems and trials which the huge convulsion has left to us and with which we must cope successfully if we are to rebuild and again move onward. The ruined towns, the broken industries, the desolated farms are there before our eyes wherever the battles were fought. Countless little mounds mark the resting places of the dead in the fields and on the hillsides torn and gashed by shot and shell. Signals of mourning throughout the world tell us of the irreparable losses of all nations, which have swept away such an appalling portion of the youth of every land, those in whom were garnered up the hopes and strength of the future. The splendor of the achievement of our soldiers and sailors, their dauntless courage and unshrinking service will always remain one of the proudest memories in the history of the Republic. But the dead return not and the shadow of the great sorrow for those forever gone will never be lifted from the hearts of the people who sent them forth to battle. The material side of war results is, like the spiritual, ever with us. We feel in daily life the grinding pressure of the vast debts and heaped up taxes which have been piled upon our shoulders and upon those of posterity. Great empires have been swept from the earth, ancient monarchies have crumbled in an hour and long-established governments have tottered, fallen and passed away like a watch in the night.

RESTLESSNESS EVERYWHERE

All these things stare us in the face, pierce our attention and arrest our thoughts. But this is not all and what remains, perhaps more than anything else, makes incredibly difficult the immense task which lies before us, one not to be escaped but which will strain governments and people to the top of their bent if aught that makes life worth living is to survive. The wrecked towns, the shattered forts, the effaced villages, the sinking ships were not the only victims of the storm of war. Other things, the impalpable possessions of the mind and heart, have in like fashion been wounded and crippled. In the shock of war, through long years of bitter conflict moral restraints were loosened and all the habits, all the conventions, all the customs of life, which more even than law hold society together, were swept aside. One passion, one purpose—to save the country, to save civilization, to preserve freedom—rose supreme. It could not be otherwise. There could be in that hour but one question asked of men and women: "Are you loyal to your country and her cause, ready to work and to sacrifice and if need be to die for them?" If that single demand was rightly answered nothing else mattered in those days of stress and anguish. No one inquired further.

So the war ended and victory came; the great adventure was over and men and women came back to find the old ways dull, the old life tame, the old restraints burdensome and they themselves possessed by a longing for excitement and a hunger for change unknown before. One sees the result in the restlessness which is everywhere; in the mere trifles of life, in dress, in amusements, in pleasure-seeking, in the greed for money and the recklessness of expenditure and, what is infinitely more serious, in the discontent with all forms of government or control and in the readiness and eagerness to destroy even the fundamental principles of a free and orderly civilization without which law and order, organized society, the possibilities of progress and the chance for happiness cannot exist. This state of mind born of the war is the gravest obstacle in the essential work of restoring a shattered world and making the great victory a blessing to mankind. In order to succeed at all we must understand this mental and moral condition. We must allow for it. We must be very patient. We must steady our nerves. We must be tolerant and above all, open-minded. We must call on our common sense and self-restraint. The complex problem cannot be evaded and it must be dealt with in such a way as to preserve the foundations of society and enable us, those once secured, to advance steadily, never hurriedly but always in order, toward every reform, every improvement, every form of true progress which will help mankind. It is a gigantic task for any government or any party. No party and no government can succeed unless they face it bravely, looking facts always in the face and determined to do their best—never promising what they cannot perform and never yielding to the facile temptations of momentary success.

REPUBLICANS THE LAST HOPE

THEY MUST SUCCEED IN MEETING PERILOUS CONDITIONS OF THE HOUR

One of our great political parties has failed to meet—nay, is in a considerable measure responsible for—the perilous conditions of the hour. The only other organized political force strong enough to grapple with the encircling dangers is the Republican

Party. If that too fails and breaks down, the Russian descent into barbarism will begin to draw near. Such an end is inconceivable with the American people but they must realize the peril and drive it back into the darkness whence it comes. We keepers of the Republican faith, must therefore succeed. We must not know defeat when the great responsibility comes to our hands. To the service of 1860 we must add a like service in 1920. No larger victory at any time could be won by any political party. We must both earn and deserve it. We did not fail in the Civil War. We shall not, must not fail now.

WILSONIAN THEORY UN-AMERICAN

In order to render to our country the service which we desire to render and which we can accomplish in large measure, at least, if we undertake it with all our ability and in a disinterested public spirit, we must have the opportunity for service. That opportunity can only come through our being entrusted by the people with both the legislative and the executive authority. To this end Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control, from all influence upon the Government of the United States. They must be driven from office and power not because they are Democrats but because Mr. Wilson stands for a theory of administration and government which is not American. His methods, his constant if indirect assaults upon the Constitution and upon all the traditions of free government, strike at the very life of the American principles upon which our Government has always rested. The return of the Democrats to power with Mr. Wilson or one of his disciples still the leader and master of a great party, which before his advent possessed both traditions and principles, would be a long step in the direction of the autocracy for which Mr. Wilson yearns and a heavy blow to the continuance of free representative government as we have always conceived and venerated it. The peril inseparable from Mr. Wilson and his system goes far beyond all party divisions, for it involves the fundamental question of whether the Government of the United States shall be a government of laws and not of men, whether it shall be a free representative government or that of a dictatorship resting on a plebiscite carried by repellent methods. Mr. Wilson and the autocracy he represents, and all of which those who believe in his doctrines and share his spirit represent, must be put aside and conclusively excluded from any future control. Bear this well in mind throughout the campaign, for it is the first condition of our ability to enter upon the path which will carry us forward to true progress and to wiser laws. It is the path of Washington, of Lincoln and of Roosevelt from which Mr. Wilson has sought to drag us. We can only regain it by once and for all condemning the man and his associates who have thus endeavored to turn us from the right road into the dark and devious ways which with all nations lead to destruction. We therefore make our appeal for support to all who love America, to all, whatever party name they happen to bear, who are true to the faith of the fathers, to join with us in this great work of redemption. The defeat of the present Administration and all it means transcends in importance every other question and all immediate and dominant issues are bound up with it. Without that defeat every chance of the right settlement of the mighty questions before us, so sorely needed now and not later, will depart.

A GOVERNMENT WHERE LAW AND ORDER RULES

JUSTICE MUST BE METED OUT TO ALL ALIKE—RICH AND POOR, HIGH AND LOW

The ground thus cleared, it is our first duty as Americans to re-establish certain essential principles which have been both shaken and invaded—shaken by the shock of war, invaded by those who had their own selfish purposes to serve even in the hour of the country's danger.

The earliest beliefs of men reveal the trust of mankind in order, as the divine conqueror of chaos and eternal night. A famous poet tells us that "order is Heaven's first law" and history repeats the same injunction. All the civilization ever built up and treasured by mankind has rested upon the establishment of law and order. Law and order, the supports of true liberty, the firm foundations of prosperity and progress, have always ruled in the United States and have been very dear in the hearts of the American people. They must never be weakened or impaired unless we are ready to see all that we have carefully built up go down in ruin and men forced once more into the struggle against chaos, followed by the slow and toilsome climb out of the darkness of anarchy to the height of freedom and accomplishment. To maintain law and order and a stable government where justice rules and the rights of all men, high and low, rich and poor, shall be protected, we must have a government of the people, duly chosen by the people, and never must there be permitted any government by a single man or by a group of men or by an organized minority. Tyranny lurks in them all and true freedom withers when they ascend the throne. There must be but one law in this country and that is the law framed by the men chosen by the people themselves to make the laws. The chief magistrate must understand that it is his duty not only to enforce but to abide by the laws, the laws made by the representatives of the people, and when those laws are once made they must be obeyed until the people see fit to change them. The will of the people, expressed in lawful manner through the Government of the United States, must be supreme, for the Government of the United States can neither suffer revolt nor submit to any question of its authority on the part of any man or any group of men or any minority of the people. When free government fails, autocracy and revolution and the downfall of civilization as we have known it are at hand. Progress will cease, and the decline to lower stages of development will have begun. True progress must rest upon and proceed from the sound principles which sustain all free government, and to such progress the Republican Party always has been committed. Loyalty to the United States and obedience to the people's laws are the cornerstones of the Republic and should be sustained and upheld by every man and every woman in every corner of our great land. Keep these principles sacred and untouched and all the rest will follow.

FOR THE VAST TASK AHEAD

Let me turn first to the economic conditions, so profoundly distorted and confused by the war, which affect our daily life, are essential to our business and upon which our material prosperity and all the benefits both mental and moral, which flow from it when honestly acquired, so largely depend. Already a beginning has been made by a Republican Congress, working under all the difficulties and opposition imposed by a hostile Executive. Many vital economic measures and especially protective tariff legislation to guard our industries are impossible with a Democratic Free Trader of Social-

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N. C. Lodge

istic proclivities in the White House. To accomplish such measures as these we must have, as we intend to have, a Republican President, in sympathy with a Republican House and Senate. Great reductions in expenditures have been effected but we have been met with resistance in some of the departments and also by habits of waste backed by maladministration, by sacrifice of efficiency to political purposes, never so recklessly indulged in before, and in certain cases by an incompetency so marvelous that it cannot be due to nature but must be the result of art. Yet despite all these fettering conditions an amount of work has been done which in days of peace would have been considered remarkable but now passes almost unnoticed because great events have so crowded on each other's heels in the years of world war that the comprehension and appreciation of legislative accomplishment are well nigh lost. Let me give a few examples of what has been accomplished.

A RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

The estimates have been reduced over a billion dollars. The oil-leasing and water-power bills, two measures of large effect and high importance, which have been halting and stumbling for many years in the incapable hands of a Democratic majority, have passed both Houses, but the President has vetoed the water-power bill. We have passed the vocational rehabilitation act for the benefit of wounded soldiers and several acts for the disposition of war material, very necessary to our finances. We have amended and improved the Federal Reserve and the farmers' loan acts. We have cared for the soldiers of the Civil War, straitened in their old age through the rise in prices, by an increase in their pensions. The civil service retirement law, a long-deferred act of justice to faithful servants of the Government, has been passed, and a minimum wage bill for all persons in Government employ has passed both Houses. We have been obliged to restore the Army and Navy to a peace footing, a work as difficult as it was necessary. We have met this by two most important measures, the Army and Navy pay-bill and the law for the reorganization of the Army on a peace basis. Two of the most important acts of any period, the shipping act for the upbuilding of the American Marine and the settlement of the affairs of the Shipping Board and the law establishing a budget, a great measure of economy and sound financial administration, are conspicuous as our latest achievements. The budget bill was vetoed by the President at the last moment, on the ground that it interfered with the power of appointment and removal.

LEGISLATION WILL LOWER COST OF LIVING, BUT GREAT REMEDY IS MORE PRODUCTION

The list of beneficial laws, passed under adverse circumstances, might be largely extended did not time forbid. But these are enough to show the far-reaching results of the labors of this Congress, whose time is but little more than half spent. Some of the master minds of the Democratic party are now chirruping away like incessant little birds that "the Republicans have done nothing." I should be glad, omitting the two years of war when both parties worked together, to put the recorded accomplishment of the five years of complete Democratic control beside that of our eighteen months hampered by an inimical administration. Let me assure you that we do not fear the comparison.

We have made a remarkable beginning, but we are fully conscious that it is only a beginning. Much has been done, much more remains to do and we pledge ourselves to exert all our energies to deal with what is still undone. The wreck and

confusion of a great war, in business, finance and all economic conditions, cannot be cleared away and fully readjusted in a year and a half nor indeed in twice that time. Reconstruction must be steady and energetic, but it also demands care if it is to be of lasting value. The rise of prices, the high cost of living which reaches daily into every home, is the most pressing as it is the most difficult and most essential problem which confronts us. Some of the sources of this trouble can be reached by legislation, although not all, but everything that can be effected by law should be done at once. Profiteering, the charging of extortionate and unjustified prices, which is stupid as well as unlawful, are subject now to ample punitive laws. Those laws should be enforced, others if necessary added, and the offenders both great and small should be pursued and punished, not in the headlines of newspapers after the manner of the present attorney-general but quietly, thoroughly and efficiently, in the courts of the United States. Something more in this direction can be accomplished by the proper regulation of cold storage, and a bill for that purpose has passed both Houses and is now in conference.

Another deep-seated cause of the rise of prices, more effective in its results although less obvious than profiteering, is the abnormal increase per capita of the circulating medium. This has doubled since the war began and if in the space of a few years the amount of the circulating medium is doubled it has a most profound effect in stimulating and advancing prices. During the war credits have been enormously inflated and there have been large additions to the currency through the Federal Reserve banks. Here it is possible to check the advance of prices by law. We can provide for the control of credits in such manner as to give preference to the most essential products. We are also able to reduce the amount of the circulating medium in the form of Federal Reserve bank notes, the authority having been given during the war to increase the issue of these notes from two billions to four billions. It should be one of the first acts of Congress to deal with this essential point and it would have a marked effect in reducing prices by steadying them and bringing them down to a lower and more normal level.

REMEDY LIES IN PRODUCTION

The most potent remedy of all against advances in the high cost of living, however, lies in production, which cannot be reached directly by statutes. If production begins to fail and fall off, the cost of everything will be advanced by the simple force of scarcity which inevitably drives prices upward. The most essential remedy for high costs is to keep up and increase production and particularly should every effort be made to advance the productivity of the farms. Just how much the Government can do in this direction is uncertain, but it can aid and support and if anything can be done it must not be omitted or overlooked. At the same time it must not be forgotten that there is a vast difference between the powers of the National Government in time of war and those which it possesses in time of peace. The normal limitations of times of peace restrict very much the powers of the general government and in helping to increase the productivity of the farms, which must be done through government action, the Republican party promises to use every power in this direction whether within the State or Federal jurisdiction.

I have touched upon this matter of prices and the high cost of living because it is altogether the most important domestic question now before the country and one to which the Republican party should address itself without delay in every direc-

tion where help is possible. There are, of course, as I have said, many other important economic questions to be dealt with, as speedily as may be, but the time allotted to me makes it impossible to touch upon them all.

RAILROAD ACT FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND

There is, however, one measure which cannot be passed over, a single great law which has been enacted and which in any period would be sufficient to distinguish a Congress as one of high accomplishment. This is the Railroad Act. For six months able committees in both Houses, committees where no party line was drawn, toiled day after day upon this most intricate of problems. There was much serious debate in both Senate and House and then the bill, signed by the President, became law. No doubt time and experience will show that improvements in the act can be made, but in the main it is a remarkable piece of legislation and in general principles is entirely sound, and nothing could be more unfair than to criticize the present owners contending with the legacy of mismanagement, waste and confusion bequeathed by the Government when it returned the roads only three months ago. The railroad law possesses also an importance wholly distinct from its provisions, which have been framed with extreme care. This act declares a national policy and, so far as any law can do it, establishes that policy as a rule of action. The policy embodied in the bill conceded at the outset that it is of course impossible to return to the old system or lack of system in the management of railroads. They must henceforth be under thorough Government supervision and also the Government must have over them a large measure of control.

NO GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

The transportation system of the country can no longer be suffered to continue without such supervision and control. But the policy also represents the principle that the Government must not assume ownership of the railroads. Their operation and management must be left in private ownership. The phrase "Government ownership" means not only that the Government shall own the railroads but also, it is to be feared, that those who run the railroads shall own the Government. General Government ownership under our political system would inevitably bring about the mastery of the Government by those who operate the machinery of transportation or of any other industries which come into Government possession. The rights of the general public, for whom all industries exist, would disappear under this scheme and nothing would be left to the people except the duty of paying taxes to support the roads. That is a very perilous position for a representative democracy. Our Government must not be dominated by any one man or any class or any selected body of men who represent a part of the people and not the whole people. Moreover, in the United States, Government ownership wherever applied to an industry, whether it involves transportation or telegraphic and telephone communication or shipbuilding or manufacturing, is a very inefficient and wasteful system, badly managed and certain to be intolerably burdensome to the taxpayers. This point it is not necessary to argue because the country through the demands of war turned the railroads over to the Government and we have had the painful privilege of observing the performance which followed. The Government management which ensued was inefficient, the railroads were wretchedly conducted and money was spent and wasted with a prodigality which nothing can defend. During the time in which the Government undertook to manage the railroads they sustained despite a generous increase in freight rates a loss

of over a million dollars a day and the total payments out of the Treasury to support the railroads have reached the enormous sum of one and three quarters billions of dollars. There was universal dissatisfaction with the Government management, and it was a just dissatisfaction. The experiment failed and should not be renewed.

UNITED STATES HUMILIATED IN EYES OF WORLD BY ITS WEAK-KNEED MEXICAN POLICY

From domestic affairs, which I have only touched upon briefly, let us turn to foreign questions, to our relations with the world of other nations. Look first at one of the most pressing importance just beyond our own borders. Look at Mexico. For seven years the United States has been pursuing under the direction of the President a policy of "watchful waiting." The President saw fit to intervene in Mexico. As a matter of fact, he made war upon Mexico, for in the taking of Vera Cruz we lost some 20 men in killed and wounded and several hundred unregarded, incidental Mexicans were also either wounded or killed in the conflict. We went there to exact an apology for the treatment of some of our sailors at Tampico. The apology has never been given, but President Huerta was driven from power, which was the President's real purpose, and Mexico then fell into a state of anarchy which, growing constantly worse, has continued to this day. The President saw fit to recognize Carranza, who was chosen by a military junta, as political chief. He thus furnished an essential support to the Carranza Government and what has been our reward? Over 600 Americans have been murdered in Mexico, some under circumstances of great brutality. For these murders no reparation has been made. Decorated by endless futile and useless notes, they have gone on unchecked. To have been an American citizen in Mexico added to a man's danger. The words, "I am an American citizen," instead of being a protection, as they ought to be, in every corner of the world, were an absolute peril to anyone who was entitled to that high distinction. Mexico teemed with German plots. The Mexican Government—largely the offspring of Mr. Wilson's recognition—did not support us in the war, but gave aid so far as it was possible to the cause of our enemies. Yet we still continued to support Carranza. His Government sent agents into this country to foment industrial trouble and to bring on strikes. They allied themselves with the bolshevist and anarchistic elements. Nothing was done by the United States. Carranza insulted the American Government in every possible way, and still nothing was done. We fell so low that when an American was seized by one of the many bands of brigands and held for ransom, all that the Government of the United States would do was to offer to be the channel for conveying the ransom of their citizens to the highwaymen who had seized them. The mere statement seems incredible, but it is in exact accordance with the facts in some cases. Still nothing was done and we watched and waited. Naturally we lost our influence in Mexico, and what was far more important, we lost the respect of the Mexican people by the manner in which we submitted to every sort of insult and outrage.

NEED OF A FIRM HAND

We have watched and waited long enough. It is time that this condition, disgraceful to us and ruinous to Mexico, should cease. We need a firm hand at the helm. We need a man who will think not only of the rights of the United States but of the welfare of Mexico. The Mexican people would not resent the influence or intervention of the United States if it would only help to bring them peace under a President of their own choosing. The great mass of the Mexican people wish to work and earn

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money. They long to be able to sleep in peace and not be subject to pillage and outrage. Thousands of them look to us for help. Let the Mexicans choose as their President some strong and upright man who is friendly to the United States and determined to establish order and then let the United States give him a real and cordial support, and so strengthen and uphold him that he will be able to exterminate the bandits and put an end to the unceasing civil war which has well nigh completely ruined one of the finest and most valuable countries on the face of the earth. We must watch and wait no longer. We must have a man who has a policy and who will act. Nothing can ever be accomplished under the Wilson administration or any administration in sympathy with it. Their miserable record of hopeless failure in Mexico has been unbroken for seven years. The time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation, which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to our civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home in Mexico. If we assert and protect the Monroe Doctrine against Europe, as we must for our own safety, we must also accept and fulfil the duties and responsibilities which that doctrine imposes.

MEXICO BEFORE ARMENIA

The President has been unable or unwilling to do anything for Mexico, where civil war has raged for years, where anarchy exists and where the people are suffering. But he thinks it our duty to take a mandate for Armenia, which would involve our sending an army there for an indefinite time and which would cost, including the army and civil expenditures, 275 millions for the first year, besides entangling us in all the quarrels and intrigues of Asia Minor and the surrounding countries. Mexico lies at our doors. It is a primary duty for us to deal with it under the Monroe Doctrine, but nothing has been done and yet we are asked to take a mandate for Armenia. The American people have a deep sympathy for Armenia. They have already given over forty million dollars for the relief of those starving and suffering people, a brave and gallant people who deserve assistance and who have established a government. We are anxious to help Armenia in all reasonable ways and no doubt shall do so, but to take a mandate to control, protect and govern that country would involve our sending our sons and brothers to serve and sacrifice their lives in Armenia for an indefinite time. This is a mandate which we in the Senate of the United States think should not be undertaken. It is a plan to get us involved in the responsibilities of the League of Nations and all the wars in which it may be engaged, without our being a member of the League. To such a proposition the only answer is a plain refusal. On the other hand, what the President has neglected—a like condition among an unfortunate people at our very doors—we must take up and by a wise and firm policy restore Mexico to the position which she ought to occupy and thereby help and relieve her people and so benefit the world and extend the reign of peace.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S TRIP TO EUROPE A JOURNEY OF LOST OPPORTUNITIES

As the great war in Europe pushed Mexico into the background and turned the thoughts of all away from it, so there is at this moment another great question of our relations to the civilized world which overshadows every other. When the armistice with Germany was signed the course to be pursued was clear. It was urged by Republican Senators before the armistice and immediately afterwards. That course was to make the peace with Germany at once and then take up for reasonable consideration the question of establishing such future relations with our associates in

the war as would make for the future peace of the world. If this had been done we could have had full peace with Germany three months after the armistice. This Mr. Wilson prevented. He went to Europe with the greatest opportunity for large service to the world ever offered to any one man. He insisted on going himself, for he trusted no one else. We then had the confidence, the gratitude and the friendship of every European nation, which thanks to the President we possess no longer. If Mr. Wilson had said: "We came here to help you win this war in defense of civilization. The war is won. All we now insist upon is that Germany shall be put in such a position as not to be able again to threaten the peace and freedom of mankind. Our own questions in the American hemisphere we will care for ourselves. We have interests in the Far East which we shall wish to have protected, but your own European questions you must settle and we will accept the settlement to which you agree. We are not here seeking territory or to dictate what you shall do in regard to either territory or boundaries." Then indeed we should have been entitled to the gratitude of the world not only for our decisive services in the war but for generous assistance in making a lasting peace. But Mr. Wilson did not do this. He had apparently only one aim, to be the maker of a league of which he should be the head. He was determined that there should be a League of Nations then and there and in order to nullify the powers of the Senate given by the Constitution of the United States he decided to make the League an integral part of the treaty of peace with Germany. Thus he presented to the Senate, and intended to present, a dilemma from which he believed there was no escape. In order to have peace with Germany he meant to compel the Senate to accept with it the League of Nations. It was indeed a difficult situation which he thus created. But Republican Senators believed their duty to be clear before them and did not shrink from fulfilling it. Thirty-nine of them in March, 1919, signed a statement setting forth that the first draft of the League as Mr. Wilson brought it back, announcing that it must be taken just as it stood, could not be accepted by the Senate in that form.

WILSON WAS WARNED

The President returned to Europe with this warning before him and before the world. He admitted a few slight changes in the covenant, for the most part unimportant and some of which made the second draft worse than the first. He forced the Allied and Associated Powers to yield to his demand that the covenant of the League should be interwoven with the treaty of peace. To accomplish this he surrendered the principle of the freedom of the seas—whatever that may have been—to Great Britain, and he made promises and concessions to France—not yet fulfilled—which brought him the French support. Having thus carried his point abroad, he brought the treaty with Germany home and laid it before the Senate. To the great mass of the American people he said: "This covenant of the League of Nations will bring to the world a lasting peace." Everyone desired lasting peace and without pausing to consider or even to read the covenant, thousands upon thousands of good people united in the demand that the Senate ratify and take the League at once and without consideration, just as it stood. The Republicans of the Senate, perceiving the dangers of the League, determined to resist Mr. Wilson's demand, even at the cost of delaying the treaty of peace with Germany. They felt that the one thing necessary was to have the people understand the treaty, that they might realize what it meant and what it threatened.

AT LAST THE AWAKENING

So the long debate began and it has lasted for more than a year. At the outset that portion of the people who wished an instantaneous and unqualified acceptance of a covenant which most of them had never read had possession in large measure of the press and other methods of obtaining publicity and thus were able to keep up a continual cry for immediate ratification. The vocal part of the community felt, almost universally, as they listened to each other's voices, that the whole country was with them, but they forgot the great inarticulate masses of the people who went silently about their work and their business, who did not write letters to the newspapers or publish circulars or spend millions in spreading their views through powerful organs and active associations, but who simply loved their country and thought first of the interests of America. The debate in the Senate spread to them. They read the speeches, they listened to the arguments, and what was far more important, they began to read and discuss the covenant of the League themselves, in the street, by the firesides, wherever men and women meet together. They began to understand the League. They began to know what it meant. They saw it was an alliance and not a league for peace. They saw that it did not mention the Hague Conventions which we all desired to have restored as foundations for further extensions, did nothing for the development of international law, nothing for a world court and judicial decisions, and nothing looking towards an agreement as to dealing with non-justifiable questions. These real advances toward promoting peace, these constructive measures were all disregarded and the only court mentioned was pushed in an obscure corner. The people began to perceive with an intense clearness that this alliance, silent as to real peace agreements, contained clauses which threatened the very existence of the United States as an independent Power—threatened its sovereignty, threatened its peace, threatened its life. The masses of the people became articulate. Public opinion steadily changed and to-day the number of Americans who would be willing to accept the covenant of the League of Nations just as the President brought it back from Europe is negligible. The American people will never accept that alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. The President meantime has remained inflexible. He is determined to have that treaty as he brought it back or nothing, and to that imperious demand the people will reply in tones which cannot be misunderstood. No man who thinks of America first need fear the answer.

THE FAMOUS ARTICLE X

Mr. Wilson said in a recent letter to Senator Hitchcock: "For my own part I am not willing to trust to the counsel of diplomats the working out of any salvation of the world from the things which it has suffered." And he said this in behalf of an alliance whose representatives will all be diplomats and politicians. They will all act in behalf of the interests of their respective countries and they will have nothing judicial about them. Strip the League of every clause which involves the action of political representatives in the Assembly and the Council and you leave but one article in which the diplomats of the League as such will have no power.

That is the famous Article X. Most of the League covenant was prepared by General Smuts, of South Africa, but Article X was the work of the President of the United States. It is true this article is free from diplomats, but it rests entirely upon naked force. In that way peace is to be preserved and the nations freed from war by multiplying the opportunities for the use of force. Each individual nation is bound by

Article X to go to war for the protection of the territorial integrity and the political independence of every other nation in the world at the time of signature; that is, for the protection of States some of which are not yet determined or established, for the protection of boundaries which no man can define. We were to give such a guarantee and any of the countries in the League in the event of exterior aggression could have demanded our armed assistance, and our soldiers and sailors must then have gone forth at the command of foreign countries unless we shattered all hope of world peace by breaking a solemn moral obligation. The Republicans of the Senate, no matter what their future fate might be, were determined that the covenant containing that article unmodified should never be ratified. It became every day clearer to them that the alliance called a League of Nations, instead of being a guarantee for the world's peace, was a breeder of war and an enemy of peace. As we studied it—and a majority of Senators desired to have some League if possible which should be a genuine League of Peace—we found that it dragged us not only into every dispute and every war in Europe and in the rest of the world but that our soldiers and sailors might be forced to give their lives in quarrels not their own at the bidding of foreign governments.

TWICE OFFERED, TWICE REFUSED

It also appeared that our domestic questions, like immigration, could be interfered with, that the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine was to be left to the decision of the League, that we were to be made participants in the outrageous disposition of Shantung, which robbed a friendly nation and gave the proceeds of the robbery to her worst enemy, and that finally we were to have in the Assembly of the League only one vote to Great Britain's six. These provisions were all intolerable. Reservations were adopted which relieved us from every obligation under Article X, which took all our domestic questions completely out of the jurisdiction of the League, which once and for all placed the Monroe Doctrine beyond any interference by Europe or any foreign Power, and which refused our assent to the cruel wrong of Shantung. We also made it impossible to subject the United States to the proposed inequality in voting power, for we profoundly believed that the United States must never take part in any council of the nations where her vote was not equal to that of any other Power represented. Some of us were deeply convinced that there ought to be no League at all and that absolute safety could be obtained in no other way; others of us, more numerous, believed that the reservations I have described would protect the United States against the perils of the covenant if we joined the League. We were all firmly united in our determination that the League as submitted by Mr. Wilson must never pass. We were also agreed that Mr. Wilson's League with what he called "interpretative reservations," or with anything those obedient to him approved, was just as bad, just as menacing as the original. Twice we offered the President and his most faithful supporters an opportunity to ratify the treaty with reservations. Twice his followers, obedient to his orders, rejected the treaty with the reservations I have outlined.

A VETO WITHOUT REASON

The Republicans of the Senate then made another effort to put an end to the state of technical war with Germany and at the same time rid the country of those measures which were adopted under the war powers of the Constitution and which are clearly unconstitutional in time of peace. They would thus have relieved the business and the daily occupations of the people from the burdens of war legislation and at the

same time have preserved to the United States under the terms of the resolution all benefits accruing to the United States under the provisions of the treaty of Versailles. This resolution was passed by both branches of Congress and vetoed by the President in a message which furnished neither argument nor reason for the veto but which it must be admitted had a pleasant touch of humor in its allusion to the freedom of the seas. The houses also passed a resolution repealing all war legislation with three exceptions. The President vetoed it. His autocratic powers must not be disturbed. Thus the President demonstrated again that unless he could have his own way exactly and without any modification he would not permit the country to be at peace, an exercise of executive power never contemplated by the Constitution.

There the story ends. We have stopped Mr. Wilson's treaty and the question goes to the people. In 1916 Mr. Wilson won on the cry that "he had kept us out of war." He now demands the approval of the American people for his party and his Administration on the ground that he has kept us out of peace.

THE CAMPAIGN ISSUE IS MADE; IT IS THE PRESIDENTIAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We of the Senate believe that we have performed a high and patriotic duty and we ask you, representatives of the Republican Party, to approve our course and stand by what we have done. The next act will fill a larger stage and the people will decide between us and the President. The League must be discussed in every district and in every State and we desire to have the verdict so clearly given that no man who seeks to represent the people in the Senate, in the House or in any place or any degree, can have the slightest doubt as to his duty. We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's League and its sacrifice of America. The shifting scene in Europe, with its wars and disputes, its changing governments and fleeting boundaries which we are asked to guarantee, will instruct the people from day to day and we confidently leave the future and the protection of their sons and brothers and of the country's rights in their hands. That future no man can predict but the country knows well in what spirit we Republicans will meet it, a spirit as different from that of the President as day from night. The people know our policy; they know Mr. Wilson's and they will choose between them. They will tear aside the veil of words woven to blind and deceive and come down to the essential and vital point—Mr. Wilson's plan on one side, the independence and safety of the United States on the other. To determine aright this question, involving the fate and fortunes of the United States, all Republicans, all Americans must join together and in their own way and with their own arguments defeat Mr. Wilson's League as he desires it, whether amended by him or in its pristine simplicity. We must all fight side by side to keep safe and untouched the sovereignty, the independence, the welfare of the United States. We hear the timid cry that America will be isolated. Have no fear. The United States cannot be isolated. The world needs us far too much. We have never turned a deaf ear to the cry of suffering humanity, but whatever we do must be done in our own way, freely and without constraint from abroad. With no outside help since the Revolution we have come to where we are to-day. We shall march on and not neglect our duty to the world. When we were called to the defense of freedom and civilization in 1917 we did not fail. We threw our great weight into the wavering scale and we were all the more effective, all the stronger because we went without alliance and of our own free will, as we should always go to help mankind. Let us stand fast by the principles and policies of

Washington and Monroe and against—utterly against—those of Mr. Wilson. We must be now and ever for Americanism and Nationalism, and against Internationalism. There is no safety for us, no hope that we can be of service to the world, if we do otherwise.

FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY

One word more before I close. During all the tedious weeks and months of the protracted struggle to save America from what we conceived to be the dire perils lurking in the covenant of the League of Nations, which Mr. Wilson presented to us, party was scarcely ever mentioned nor was the effect of our action upon the party considered. To this spirit I think our success was largely due. We made up our minds as to what our duty and our general policy ought to be and then the only difference was as to the best way in which that duty could be performed. I believe that the great party which we represent here to-day has made up its mind as to its attitude upon Mr. Wilson's League and all that is carried with it of danger and of menace. In making our contest before the people let us think of what the public interest, the future existence of the United States, demand without any consideration of party effect. When we put the word "gold" into our platform in 1896 we took from the ordinary political point of view great risks but we went to the people confident in the justice of our cause and won. The way to assure victory now is to remember always what Mr. Wilson and his party threaten not only in the League but in regard to the very foundations of our Government. Let us for our part think of nothing except our cause and with that great end clear before us let us behold with indifference "the lesser chances and inferior hopes meantime go pouring past." So thinking, so believing, we must win because the fight we are making is for the right.

PROMISE ONLY WHAT CAN BE PERFORMED

Let us also in the battle we are to wage make no promises which cannot be performed. Let us not imitate the Democrats, who pledged themselves to reduce the cost of living by lowering the tariff when they well knew, for even they must have known, that their pledge was impossible of fulfilment, that the high cost of living could not be affected in that way and every day since then has proved the falsity of their position. Let us not promise any millenniums or pledge our faith to the performance of impossibilities. Let us simply lay before the people our principles and policies, policies which are at once vigorous and practicable, and then pledge ourselves to do our utmost to carry these policies into effect. This we can do and we should bind ourselves no further. If the righteousness of our cause will not win, no false promises or delusive hopes will be of any avail. Let us be true to our highest traditions because in them we shall find both an inspiration and a guide. Let past dissensions among ourselves be relegated to history and forgotten by us. Let all honest differences as to means and methods, if there are such, be set aside until November in order that the great and overruling purpose in which we all agree and which we long to achieve may be attained. Make our declaration of principles so broad, so devoted to the one supreme object, that all may accept it and all work for the same dominant result. Thus inspired, thus united, we may feel assured that when the banners are lifted and the trumpets blown we shall march forth to a victory, not for our party alone but for principles and beliefs which are absolutely vital if the American Republic is to continue on its triumphant course and the hopes of humanity, so bound up in the fortunes of the United States, are to be fulfilled.

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Wm H Hays

ELECTION OF 1920

Chairman, WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana
Secretary, CLARENCE B. MILLER, of Minnesota

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 7- , 1920.

Chairman pro tem., HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts
Permanent Chairman, HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts

NOMINATED

For President
WARREN G. HARDING
OF OHIO

For Vice-President
CALVIN COOLIDGE
OF MASSACHUSETTS

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

THE Republican Party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the Government or weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or of domestic agitation.

For seven years the National Government has been controlled by the Democratic Party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic Administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic Administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. To-day it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

UNPREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE

Peace found the Administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded the early and systematic return to a peace-time basis. This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the Government has continued on a war-time basis. The Administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions.

Eighteen months after the armistice, with its wartime powers unabridged, its wartime departments undischarged, its wartime army of place holders still mobilized, the Administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic Party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of Government and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end the Republican Party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

We undertake to end executive autocracy and to restore to the people their constitutional Government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the Federal and State Governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic Congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the Administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which under the present Democratic Administration has been wasteful, extravagant and inefficient in the highest degree. The Transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the Wage Board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept Shipping Board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine. We took from the incompetent Democratic Administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership. We reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employees—the poorest paid of all public servants. We provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent women's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five Legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper; for the extension of the powers of the Government under the Food Control act; for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance act; better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the civil war and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the Vocational Rehabilitation act has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country. We have sought to check the profligacy of the Administration, to realize upon the assets of the Government, and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for Government expenditure of nearly $3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

We enacted a National Executive Budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers. We authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade, and finally amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible Government.

AGRICULTURE

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent on the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican Party believes that this condition can be improved by practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment

of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operation associations for marketing their products and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the coordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products, which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer, and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal farm loan act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry and to furnish such long-time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long-time production operations.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractural and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employer and employees and realizing the true end of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify Government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the Government: but the rights and interests of all Government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service to the lives and health and welfare of the people, the decisions of the tribunal to be morally, but not legally, binding, and an informed public sentiment to be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunal, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and investigation of this issue.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration for the fiscal year 1920 almost $3,000,000,000 and for the fiscal year 1921 over $1,250,000,000. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

The Overman act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the armistice the United States Government is still on a war-time basis and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the Administration, we cite the fact that, not including the War and Navy Departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the Administration is only 1 per cent. under that of 1920. The annual expenses of Federal operation can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peace-time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an executive budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and businesslike administration of the national finances, and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more businesslike distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and overlapping of work and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic wartime powers.

His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing wartime legislation, no longer necessary, evidence his determination not to restore to the nation and to the States the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

TAXATION

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering, but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected.

The next Republican Administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over $3,000,000,000, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of $5,000,000,000 which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not for tax laws which do excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return, authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval, empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the tax-payer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments, barring fraud, and the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

The fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the Administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time, the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty bonds and Victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed to-day by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The Federal reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The prime cause of the "high cost of living" has been, first and foremost, a 50 per cent. depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

D. W. DAVIS
GOVERNOR OF IDAHO

PETER NORBECK
GOVERNOR OF SOUTH DAKOTA

R. LIVINGSTON BEECKMAN
GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND

FRANK O. LOWDEN
GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

J. P. GOODRICH
GOVERNOR OF INDIANA

THOMAS E. CAMPBELL
GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA

O. A. LARRAZOLO
GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO

OLIVER H. SHOUP
GOVERNOR OF COLORADO

BEN W. OLCOTT
GOVERNOR OF OREGON

We condemn the unsound policies of the Democratic Administration which have brought these things to pass and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our Government borrowing, by courageous intelligent deflation of overexpanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war-imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

PROFITEERING

We condemn the Democratic Administration for failure impartially to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

RAILROADS

We are opposed to Government ownership and operation or employee operation of the railroads. In the view of the condition prevailing in the country, the expenditures of the last two years and the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service, both for the present and the future, can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprises, to restore railway credit, to induce future investments at a reasonable rate and to furnish enlarged facilities to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon the actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time, to provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service with fair hours and favorable working conditions at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

We endorse the Transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most conservative legislative achievement.

WATERWAYS

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safest of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic Administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission, properly organized and its duties efficiently administered, should afford protection to the public and legitimate business. In this there should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF

The uncertain and unsettled conditions of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

MERCHANT MARINE

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship, flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital and operated by private energy.

LAW AND ORDER

The equality of all citizens under the law has always been a policy of the Republican Party.

Without obedience to law and maintenance of order, our American institutions must perish. Our laws must be impartially enforced and speedy justice should be secured.

PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products and improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the reclamation act, signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the Coal, Oil and Phosphate Leasing bill by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the Water Power bill, fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent and landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the Water Power bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican Party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the States and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

We indorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

We favor the application of the Workmen's Compensation Acts to the merchant marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without premium of tolls.

IMMIGRATION

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship are its most precious possessions and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our Government.

The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied could be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals and a more effective inspection, applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate Government supervision all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound and should be maintained.

NATURALIZATION

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American and tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

We advocate in addition the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States.

FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives, but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the Government or American institutions.

Every Government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the Immigrations acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a

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JOHN J. TOWNSEND, JR.
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J. A. A. BURNQUIST
GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA

HENRY J. ALLEN
GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

ROBERT D. CAREY
GOVERNOR OF WYOMING

MARCUS H. HOLCOMB
GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT

W. L. HARDING
GOVERNOR OF IOWA

competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

LYNCHING

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a terrible blot on our American citizenship.

RECLAMATION

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation. We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated Government agencies.

THE SERVICE MEN

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War. The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal years 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of $1,180,571,893. This legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

CIVIL SERVICE

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of Government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

POSTAL SERVICE

We condemn the present Administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service and of the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the Government, and for its failure properly to compensate employees whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employees, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the Government service.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of Government and the activities of the Republican Party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in States which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the Federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interests of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican Party to the solution of these problems through national and State legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

We indorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

Where Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

The public health activities of the Federal Government are scattered through numerous

departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the better coordination of the work of the Federal, State and local health agencies.

CHILD LABOR

The Republican Party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal Government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

HOUSING

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of home-owners is the best guaranty of the maintenance of those principles of liberty and law and order upon which our Government is founded. Both national and State Governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

HAWAII

For Hawaii, we recommend: Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence is impaired and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy, founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty and property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along the line most conducive to the happiness and welfare of the people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

MEXICO

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice and national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile, written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being "meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican Government unless it be a responsible Government, willing and able to give sufficient guarantees

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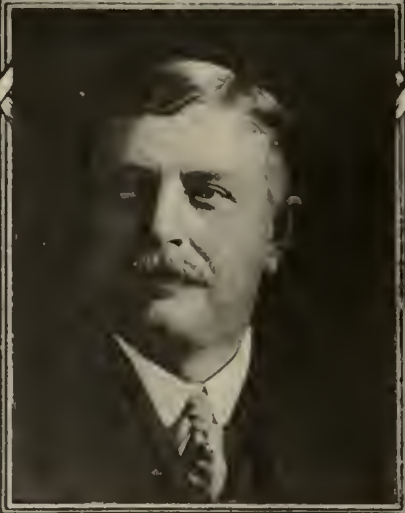
LYNN J. FRAZIER
GOVERNOR OF NORTH DAKOTA



ALBERT E. SLEEPER
GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

WILLIAM D. STEPHENS
GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

JOHN H. BARTLETT
GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

PERCIVAL N. CLEMENT
GOVERNOR OF VERMONT

EDWIN P. MORROW
GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY

CALVIN COOLIDGE
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

WM. C. SPROUL
GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

LOUIS F. HART
GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON

that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected, that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican Party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy toward Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in connection with an established international law and our treaty rights.

The Republican Party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves, for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interest and patriotic aspirations.

MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such a mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend $276,000,000 in the first year and $756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight, but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war. We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this purpose and contained stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time honored policy in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administrators for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiments of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinion of the majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty making power, and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths, according to their judgment, upon the treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority, under the Constitution, was theirs, and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity, and we pledge the coming Republican Administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Pointing to its history and relying upon its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican Party has the generous courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore Constitutional Government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the na-

tional standard of education, health and general welfare; to reestablish a peace time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without denial of justice; to repeal the arrogant challenge of any class; to maintain a Government of all the people as contrasted with a Government for some of the people, and, finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day, to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE OF WARREN G. HARDING

CHAIRMAN LODGE, MEMBERS OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The message which you have formally conveyed brings to me a realization of responsibility which is not underestimated. It is a supreme task to interpret the covenant of a great political party, the activities of which are so woven into the history of this Republic, and a very sacred and solemn undertaking to utter the faith and aspirations of the many millions who adhere to that party. The party platform has charted the way, yet, somehow, we have come to expect that interpretation which voices the faith of nominees who must assume specific tasks.

Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning. I believe in party sponsorship in government. I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not. In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions. Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this Republic a dependable and enduring popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties not only the preserving sponsors but also the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

Popular government has been an inspiration of liberty, since the dawn of civilization. Republics have risen and fallen, and a transition from party to personal government has preceded every failure since the world began. Under the constitution we have the charted way to security and perpetuity. We know it gave to us the safe path to a developing eminence which no people in the world ever rivaled. It has guaranteed the rule of intelligent, deliberate public opinion expressed through parties. Under this plan a masterful leadership becomingly may manifest its influence, but a people's will still remains the supreme authority.

The American achievement under the plan of the fathers is nowhere disputed. On the contrary, the American example has been the model of every republic which glorifies the progress of liberty, and is everywhere the leaven of representative democracy which has expanded human freedom. It has been wrought through party government.

No man is big enough to run this great Republic. There never has been one. Such domination was never intended. Tranquillity, stability, dependability—all are assured in party sponsorship, and we mean to renew the assurances which were rended in the cataclysmal war.

It was not surprising that we went far afield from safe and prescribed paths amid the war anxieties. There was the unfortunate tendency before; there was the surrender of Congress to the growing assumption of the executive before the world-war imperiled all the practices we had learned to believe in; and in the war emergency every safeguard was swept away. In the name of democracy we established autocracy.

We are not complaining at this extraordinary bestowal or assumption in war, it seemed temporarily necessary; our alarm is over the failure to restore the constitutional methods when the war emergency ended.

Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the Constitution, through the agency of The Republican Party. Our vision includes more than a chief executive, we believe in a cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the Vice-President, second official of the Republic, shall be asked to participate. The same vision includes a cordial understanding and co-ordinated activities with a House of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial co-operation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional government. The resumption of the Senate's authority saved to this Republic its independent nationality, when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

It is not difficult, Chairman Lodge, to make ourselves clear on the question of international relationship. We Republicans of the Senate, conscious of our solemn oaths and mindful of our constitutional obligations, when we saw the structure of a world super-government taking visionary form, joined in a becoming warning of our devotion to this Republic. If the torch of constitutionalism had not been dimmed, the delayed peace of the world and the tragedy of disappointment and Europe's misunderstanding of America easily might have been avoided. The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence, which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsurrendered.

The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this Republic to world civilization. There is no hate in the American heart. We have no envy, no suspicion, no aversion for any people in the world. We hold to our rights, and means to defend, aye, we mean to sustain the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun. Yet there is the concord of amity and sympathy and fraternity in every resolution. There is a genuine aspiration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

More, we believe the unspeakable sorrows, the immeasurable sacrifices, the awakened convictions and the aspiring conscience of humankind must commit the nations of the earth to a new and better relationship. It need not be discussed now what motives plunged the world into war, it need not be inquired whether we asked the sons of this Republic to defend our national rights, as I believe we did, or to purge the old world of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed, the sacrifices will be in vain if we can not acclaim a new order, with added security to civilization and peace maintained.

One may readily sense the conscience of our America. I am sure I understand the purpose of the dominant group of the Senate. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration, we were resolved to safeguard America. We were resolved then, even as we are to-day, and will be to-morrow, to preserve this free and independent Republic. Let those now responsible, or seeking responsibility, propose the surrender, whether with interpretations, apologies or reluctant reservations—from which our rights are to be omitted—we welcome the referendum to the American people on the

Hiram W Johnson

preservation of America, and The Republican Party pledges its defense of the preserved inheritance of national freedom.

In the call of the conscience of America is peace, peace that closes the gaping wound of world war, and silences the impassioned voices of international envy and distrust. Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of the Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

I can hear in the call of conscience an insistent voice for the largely reduced armaments throughout the world, with attending reduction of burdens upon peace-loving humanity. We wish to give of American influence and example; we must give of American leadership to that invaluable accomplishment.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspiration and the Republican committal for an association of nations, co-operating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

This Republic can never be unmindful of its power, and must never forget the force of its example. Possessor of might that admits no fear, America must stand foremost for the right. If the mistaken voice of America, spoken in unheeding haste, led Europe, in the hour of deepest anxiety, into a military alliance which menaces peace and threatens all freedom, instead of adding to their security, then we must speak the truth for America and express our hope for the fraternized conscience of nations.

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the league covenant, which was conceived for world supergovernment, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intolerantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected when such safeguards were inserted. If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the league compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives to a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world. No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatary however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

When the compact was being written, I do not know whether Europe asked or ambition insistently bestowed. It was so good to rejoice in the world's confidence in our unselfishness that I can believe our evident disinterestedness inspired Europe's wish for our association, quite as much as the selfish thought of enlisting American power and resources. Ours is an outstanding, influential example to the world, whether we cloak it in spoken modesty or magnify it in exaltation. We want to help; we mean to help; but we hold to our own interpretation of the American conscience as the very soul of our nationality.

Disposed as we are, the way is very simple. Let the failure attending assumption, obstinacy, impracticability and delay be recognized, and let us find the big, practical, unselfish way to do our part, neither covetous because of ambition nor hesitant through fear, but ready to serve ourselves, humanity and God. With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world.

If men call for more specific details I remind them that moral committals are broad and all inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own viewpoint the program is specifically American, and we mean to be Americans first, to all the world.

Appraising preserved nationality as the first essential to the continued progress of the Republic, there is linked with it the supreme necessity of the restoration—let us say the re-revealment—of the Constitution, and our reconstruction as an industrial nation. Here is the transcending task. It concerns our common weal at home and will decide our future eminence in the world. More than these, this Republic, under constitutional liberties, has given to mankind the most fortunate conditions for human activity and attainment the world has ever noted, and we are to-day the world's reserve force in the great contest for liberty through security, and maintained equality of opportunity and its righteous rewards.

It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restive, much of the world is in revolution, the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great Red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law, and it is ours to call the Sons of Opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences, and the submission of the individual to the will of and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil, and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition. When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of aspiration, and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common-sense truths of human development.

The chief trouble to-day is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibilities that mark this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage-earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

W. M. Crane

I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the Republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission. We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings, disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground, and fortify it with general good-fortune.

Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

The human element comes first, and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the Republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the viewpoint of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less in fact than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to re-establish God's plan for the great to-morrow.

Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people, mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government, with liberty under the law, to be our avoidance of chaos, and we call upon every citizen of the Republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

The menacing tendency of the present day is not chargeable wholly to the unsettled and fevered conditions caused by the war. The manifest weakness in popular government lies in the temptation to appeal to grouped citizenship for political advantage. There is no greater peril. The Constitution contemplates no class and recognizes no group. It broadly includes all the people, with specific recognition for none, and the highest consecration we can make to-day is a committal of The Republican Party to that saving constitutionalism which contemplates all America as one people, and holds just government free from influence on the one hand and unmoved by intimidation on the other.

It would be the blindness of folly to ignore the activities in our own country which are aimed to destroy our economic system, and to commit us to the colossal tragedy which has both destroyed all freedom and made Russia impotent. This movement is not to be halted in throttled liberties. We must not abridge the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, or the freedom of assembly, because there is no promise in repression. These liberties are as sacred as the freedom of religious belief, as inviolable as the rights of life and the pursuit of happiness. We do hold to the right to crush sedition, to stifle a menacing contempt for law, to stamp out a peril to the safety of the Republic or its people, when emergency calls, because security and the majesty of the law are the first essentials of liberty. He who threatens destruction of the government by force or flaunts his contempt for lawful authority, ceases to be a loyal citizen and forfeits his rights to the freedom of the Republic.

Let it be said to all of America that our plan of popular government contemplates such orderly changes as the crystallized intelligence of the majority of our people think best. There can be no modification of this underlying rule, but no majority shall abridge the rights of a minority. Men have a right to question our system in fullest freedom, but they must always remember that the rights of freedom impose the obligations which maintain it. Our policy is not of repression, but we make appeal to-day to American intelligence and patriotism, when the Republic is menaced from within, just as we trusted American patriotism when our rights were threatened from without.

We call on all America for steadiness, so that we may proceed deliberately to the readjustment which concerns all the people. Our party platform fairly expresses the conscience of Republicans on industrial relations. No party is indifferent to the welfare of the wage-earner. To us his good fortune is of deepest concern, and we seek to make that good fortune permanent. We do not oppose but approve collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. Any American has the right to quit his employment, so has every American the right to seek employment. The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that government's obligations are alike to all the people.

I hope we may do more than merely discourage the losses and sufferings attending industrial conflict. The strike against the Government is properly denied, for Government service involves none of the elements of profit which relate to competitive enterprise. There is progress in the establishment of official revealment of issues and conditions which lead to conflict, so that unerring public sentiment may speed the adjustment, but I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity. I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges. For public protection we have enacted laws providing for a regulation of the charge for service, a limitation on the capital invested and a limitation on capital's earnings. There remains only competition of service, on which to base our hopes for an efficiency and expansion which meet our modern requirements. The railway workmen ought to be the best paid and know the best working conditions in the world. Theirs is an exceptional responsibility. They are not only essential to the life and health and all productive activities of the people, but they are directly responsible for the safety of traveling millions. The Government which has assumed so much authority for the public good might well stamp railway employment with the

Philander C. Knox

sanctity of public service and guarantee to the railway employees that justice which voices the American conception of righteousness on the one hand, and assures continuity of service on the other.

The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insufficiency and inefficiency of transportation is due to the withering hand of Government operation that we emphasize anew our opposition to Government ownership, we want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.

It is little use to recite the story of development, exploitation, Government experiment and its neglect, Government operation and its failures. The inadequacy of trackage and terminal facilities, the insufficiency of equipment and the inefficiency of operation—all bear the blighting stamp of governmental incapacity during Federal operation. The work of rehabilitation under the restoration of private ownership deserves our best encouragement. Billions are needed in new equipment, not alone to meet the growing demand for service, but to restore the extraordinary depreciation due to the strained service of war. With restricted earnings and with speculative profits removed, railway activities have come to the realm of conservative and constructive service, and the Government which impaired must play its part in restoration. Manifestly the returns must be so gauged that necessary capital may be enlisted, and we must foster as well as restrain.

We have no more pressing problem. A state of inadequate transportation facilities, mainly chargeable to the failure of governmental experiment, is losing millions to agriculture, it is hindering industry, it is menacing the American people with a fuel shortage little less than a peril. It emphasizes the present-day problem and suggests that spirit of encouragement and assistance which commits all America to relieve such an emergency.

The one compensation amid attending anxieties is our new and needed realization of the vital part transportation plays in the complexities of modern life. We are not to think of rails alone, but highways from farm to market, from railway to farm, arteries of life-blood to present-day life, the quickened ways to communication and exchange, the answer of our people to the motor age. We believe in generous federal co-operation in construction, linked with assurances of maintenance that will put an end to criminal waste of public funds on the one hand and give a guaranty of upkept highways on the other.

Water transportation is inseparably linked with adequacy of facilities, and we favor American eminence on the seas, the practical development of inland waterways, the up-building and co-ordination of all to make them equal to and ready for every call of developing and widening American commerce. I like that recommittal to thoughts of America first which pledges the Panama Canal, an American creation, to the free use of American shipping. It will add to the American reawakening.

One can not speak of industry and commerce, and the transportation on which they are dependent without an earnest thought of the abnormal cost of living and the problems in its wake. It is easy to inveigh, but that avails nothing. And it is far too serious to dismiss with flaming but futile promise.

Eight years ago in times of peace, the Democratic party made it an issue, and when clothed with power that party came near to its accomplishment by destroying the people's capacity to buy. But that was a cure worse than the ailment. It is easy to understand the real causes, after which the patient must help to effect his own cure.

Gross expansion of currency and credit has depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. We inflated in haste, we must deflate in deliberation. We debased the dollar in reckless finance, we must restore in honesty. Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the 100-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice, but plans were lacking or courage failed. The unpreparedness for peace was little less costly than unpreparedness for war.

We can promise no one remedy which will cure an ill of such wide proportions, but we do pledge that earnest and consistent attack which the party platform covenants. We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at government borrowing which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity. We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance, and the renewal of the practice of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

I have already alluded to the necessity for the fullness of production, and we need the fullness of service which attends the exchange of products. Let us speak the irrefutable truth, high wages and reduced cost of living are in utter contradiction unless we have the height of efficiency for wages received.

In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills.

Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice if need be, for a nation-wide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommittal to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the Republic. There hasn't been a recovery from the waste and abnormalities of war since the story of mankind was first written, except through work and saving, through industry and denial, while needless spending and heedless extravagance have marked every decay in the history of nations. Give the assurance of that rugged simplicity of American life which marked the first century of amazing development and this generation may underwrite a second century of surpassing accomplishment.

The Republican Party was founded by farmers, with the sensitive conscience born of their freedom and their simple lives. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence, and it has ever been our policy, purpose and performance to protect and promote that essential industry.

New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a new and forward-looking program. The American farmer had a hundred and twenty millions to feed in the home market, and heard the cry of the world for food and answered it, though he faced an appalling task amid handicaps never encountered before.

In the rise of price levels there have come increased appraisals to his acres without adding to their value in fact, but which do add to his taxes and expenses without enhancing his returns. His helpers have yielded to the lure of shop and city, until, almost alone, he has met and borne the burden of the only insistent attempts to force down prices. It challenges both the wisdom and the justice of artificial drives on prices to recall that they were effective almost solely against his products in the hands

Boris Pernow

of the producer and never effective against the same products in passing to the consumer. Contemplating the defenselessness of the individual farmer to meet the organized buyers of his products and the distributors of the things the farmer buys, I hold that farmers should not only be permitted but encouraged to join in co-operative association to reap the just measure of reward merited by their arduous toil. Let us facilitate co-operation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban world so little understands, and a like co-operation to market their products as directly as possible with the consumer, in the interests of all. Upon such association and co-operation should be laid only such restrictions as will prevent arbitrary control of our food supply and the fixing of extortionate price upon it.

Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective expression in law and practice. We will hail that co-operation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.

America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity either through the government's neglect or its paralysis by socialistic practices. A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

Becomingly associated with this subject are the policies of irrigation and reclamation, so essential to agricultural expansion, and the continued development of the great and wonderful West. It is our purpose to continue and enlarge federal aid, not in sectional partiality, but for the good of all America. We hold to that harmony of relationship between conservation and development, which fittingly appraises our natural resources and makes them available to developing America of to-day, and still holds to the conserving thought for the America of the morrow.

The federal government's relation to reclamation and development is too important to admit of ample discussion to-day. Alaska, alone, is rich in resources beyond all imagination, and needs only closer linking, through the lines of transportation, and a governmental policy that both safeguards and encourages development, to speed it to a foremost position as a commonwealth, rugged in citizenship and rich in materialized resources.

These things I can only mention. Within becoming limits one can not say more. Indeed, for the present many questions of vast importance must be hastily passed, reserving a fuller discussion to suitable occasion as the campaign advances.

I believe the budget system will effect a necessary, helpful reformation, and reveal business methods to government business.

I believe federal departments should be made more business-like and send back to productive effort thousands of federal employees, who are either duplicating work or not essential at all.

I believe in the protective tariff policy and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

I believe in a great merchant marine—I would have this Republic the leading maritime nation of the world.

I believe in a navy ample to protect it, and able to assure us dependable defense.

I believe in a small army, but the best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

I believe in our eminence in trade abroad, which the government should aid in expanding, both in revealing markets and speeding cargoes.

I believe in establishing standards for immigration, which are concerned with the future citizenship of the Republic, not with mere man-power in industry.

I believe that every man who dons the garb of American citizenship and walks in the light of American opportunity, must become American in heart and soul.

I believe in holding fast to every forward step in unshackling child labor and elevating conditions of woman's employment.

I believe the federal government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America.

I believe the federal government should give its effective aid in solving the problem of ample and becoming housing of its citizenship.

I believe this government should make its Liberty and Victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them.

I believe the tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised to the needs of peace, and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden.

I believe the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizensip bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battlefields of the Republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands.

I believe there is an easy and open path to righteous relationship with Mexico. It has seemed to me that our undeveloped, uncertain and infirm policy has made us a culpable party to the governmental misfortunes in that land. Our relations ought to be both friendly and sympathetic; we would like to acclaim a stable government there, and offer a neighborly hand in pointing the way to greater progress. It will be simple to have a plain and neighborly understanding, merely an understanding about respecting our borders, about protecting the lives and possessions of American citizens lawfully within the Mexican dominions. There must be that understanding, else there can be no recognition, and then the understanding must be faithfully kept.

Many of these declarations deserve a fuller expression, with some suggestions of plans to emphasize the faith. Such expression will follow, in due time, I promise you.

I believe in law enforcement. If elected I mean to be a constitutional president, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinkable to evade the law, when our every committal is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is divided opinion respecting the eighteenth amendment and the laws enacted to make it operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law enforcement.

Neither government nor party can afford to cheat the American people. The laws of Congress must harmonize with the Constitution, else they soon are adjudged to be void; Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of government is charged with enforcement. We can not nullify because of divided opinion, we can not jeopardize orderly government with contempt for law enforcement. Modification or repeal is the right of a free people, whenever the deliberate and intelligent public sentiment commands, but perversion and evasion mark the paths to the failure of government itself.

Though not in any partisan sense, I must speak of the services of the men and women who rallied to the colors of the Republic in world war. America realizes and appreciates the services rendered, the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured. There shall be no distinction between those who knew the perils and glories of the battle front or the dangers of the sea, and those who were compelled to serve behind the lines, or those who constituted the great reserve of a grand army which awaited the call in camps at home.

All were brave, all were sacrificing, all were sharers of those ideals which sent our boys thrice-armed to war. Worthy sons and daughters, these, fit successors to those who christened our banners in the immortal beginning, worthy sons of those who saved the Union and nationality when civil war wiped the ambiguity from the Constitution, ready sons of those who drew the sword for humanity's sake the first time in the world, in 1898.

The four million defenders on land and sea were worthy of the best traditions of a people never warlike in peace and never pacifist in war. They commanded our pride, they have our gratitude, which must have genuine expression. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege to see that the sacrifices made shall be requited, and that those still suffering from casualties and disabilities shall be abundantly aided and restored to the highest capabilities of citizenship and its enjoyment.

The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration and the potent, uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. In so far as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed state vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction this tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship and give to the best in the Republic their suffrage and support.

Much has been said of late about world ideals, but I prefer to think of the ideal for America. I like to think there is something more than the patriotism and practical wisdom of the founding fathers. It is good to believe that maybe destiny held this new-world Republic to be the supreme example of representative democracy and orderly liberty by which humanity is inspired to higher achievement. It is idle to think we have attained perfection, but there is the satisfying knowledge that we hold orderly processes for making our government reflect the heart and mind of the Republic. Ours is not only a fortunate people but a very common-sensical people, with vision high but their feet on the earth, with belief in themselves and faith in God. Whether

enemies threaten from without or menaces arise from within, there is some indefinable voice saying, "Have confidence in the Republic! America will go on!"

Here is a temple of liberty no storms may shake, here are the altars of freedom no passions shall destroy. It was American in conception, American in its building, it shall be American in the fulfilment. Sectional once, we are all American now, and we mean to be all Americans to all the world.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations, or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul and mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause. I can only pray to the Omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose. One can not give more. Mindful of the vast responsibilities, I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. With an unalterable faith and in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God, and accept the nomination of The Republican Party for the presidency of the United States.

Delivered at Marion, Ohio
July 22, 1920

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

GOVERNOR MORROW AND MEMBERS OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE: To your now formal notification I respond with formal acceptance. Your presence tells me of a leader and a cause. A leader in WARREN G. HARDING, the united choice of a united party, a statesman of ability, seasoned by experience, a fitting representative of the common aspirations of his fellow citizens, wise enough to seek counsel, great enough to recognize merit, and in all things a stalwart American; the cause of our common country, as declared in the platform of The Republican Party, the defence of our institutions from every assault, the restoration of constitutional government, the maintenance of law and order, the relief of economic distress, the encouragement of industry and agriculture, the enactment of humanitarian laws, the defence of the rights of our citizens everywhere, the rehabilitation of this nation in the estimation of all peoples, under an agreement, meeting our every duty, to preserve the peace of the world, always with unyielding Americanism, under such a leader, such a cause, I serve.

No one in public life can be oblivious to the organized efforts to undermine the faith of our people in their government, foment discord, aggravate industrial strife, stifle production, and ultimately stir up revolution. These efforts are a great public menace, not through danger of success, but through the great amount of harm they can do if ignored. The first duty of the Government is to repress them, punishing wilful violations of law, turning the full light of publicity on all abuses of the right of assembly and of free speech, and it is the first duty of the public and press to expose false doctrines and answer seditious arguments. American institutions can stand discussion and criticism only if those who know bear for them the testimony of the truth. Such repression and such testimony should be forthcoming, that the uninformed may come to a full realization that these seditious efforts are not for their welfare, but for their complete economic and political destruction.

To a free people the most reactionary experience, short of revolution, is war. In order to organize and conduct military operations a reversion to an autocratic method of government is absolutely necessary. In our own case it was no less autocratic because voluntarily established by the people. It was a wise and successful process for the purpose of winning the victory of freedom, to which all else was secondary consideration. But voluntary autocracy was established temporarily that freedom might be established permanently. Men submitted their persons and their property to the complete dictation of the government that they might conquer an impending peril. This has always been fraught with the gravest dangers. It is along this path that rides the man on horseback. Avarice for power finds many reasons for continuing arbitrary action after the cause for which it was granted has been removed. The Government of the United States was not established for the continued prosecution, or the perpetual preparation, of all its resources for war. It has been and intends

to be a nation devoted to the arts of peace. Fundamentally considered its abiding purpose has been the recognition of the rights and the development of the individual. This great purpose has been accomplished through self government. To the individual has been left power and responsibility, the foundation for the rule of the people. In time of emergency these are surrendered to the Government in return for providing the necessaries of life, and national safety. But these are and must be temporary expedients, if we are to keep our form of government, and maintain the supreme purpose of Americans. The greatest need of the nation at the present time is to be rescued from all the reactions of the war. The chief task that lies before us is to repossess the people of their government and their property. We want to return to a thoroughly peace basis because that is the fundamental American basis. Unless the government and property of the nation are in the hands of the people, and there to stay as their permanent abiding place, self government ends and the hope of America goes down in ruins. This need is transcendent.

The government of the nation is in the hands of the people, when it is administered in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, which they have adopted and ratified, and which measures the powers they have granted to their public officers, in all its branches, where the functions and duties of the three co-ordinate branches, executive, legislative, judicial, are separate and distinct and neither one directly or indirectly exercises any of the functions of either of the others. Such a practice and such a government under the Constitution of the United States it is the purpose of our party to re-establish and maintain. All authority must be exercised by those to whom it is constitutionally entrusted, without dictation, and with responsibility only to those who have bestowed it, the people.

The property of the nation is in the hands of the people when it is under their ownership and control. It is true that the control of a part of the property taken for war purposes has been returned, but there hangs over private enterprise still the menace of seizure, blighting in its effect, paralyzing in its result, to the public detriment. But it matters not whether property be taken by seizure, or through the process of taxation for extravagant and unnecessary expenditures, there should be an end to both operations. The reason is plain. Ultimately the control of the resources of the people is control of the people. Either the people must own the Government or the Government will own the people. To sustain a government of the people there must be maintained a property of the people. There can be no political independence without economic independence.

Another source of the gravest public concern has been the reactionary tendency to substitute private will for the public will. Instead of inquiring what the law was and then rendering it full obedience, there has been a disposition on the part of some individuals and of groups to inquire whether they liked the law, and if not, to disregard it, seek to override it, suspend it, and prevent its execution, sometimes by the method of direct action, for the purpose of securing their own selfish ends. The observance of the law is the greatest solvent of public ills. Men speak of natural rights, but I challenge any one to show where in nature any rights ever existed or were recognized until there was established for their declaration and protection a duly promulgated body of corresponding laws. The march of civilization has been ever under the protecting ægis of the law. It is the strong defence of the weak, the ever present refuge of innocence, a mighty fortress of the righteous. One with the law is a majority.

F H Gillett

While the law is observed the progress of civilization will continue. When such observance ceases, chaos and the ancient night of despotism will come again. Liberty goes unsupported or relies in its entirety on the maintenance of order and the execution of the law.

There is yet another manifest disposition which has preyed on the weakness of the race from its infancy, denounced alike by the letter and the spirit of the Constitution and repugnant to all that is American, the attempt to create class distinctions. In its full development this means the caste system, wherein such civilization as exists is rigidly set, and that elasticity so necessary for progress, and that recognition of equality which has been the aim and glory of our institutions, are destroyed and denied. Society to advance must be not a dead form but a living organism, plastic, inviting progress. There are no classes here. There are different occupations and different stations, certainly there can be no class of employer and employed. All true Americans are working for each other, exchanging the results of the efforts of hand and brain wrought through the unconsumed efforts of yesterday, which we call capital, all paying and being paid by each other, serving and being served. To do otherwise is to stand disgraced and alien to our institutions. This means that government must look at the part in the light of the whole, that legislation must be directed not for private interest but for public welfare, and that thereby alone will each of our citizens find their greatest accomplishment and success.

If the great conflict has disturbed our political conditions it has caused an upheaval in our economic relations. The mounting prices of all sorts of commodities has put a well nigh unbearable burden on every home. Much of this is beyond relief from law, but the forces of the Government can and must afford a considerable remedy.

The most obvious place to begin retrenchment is by eliminating the extravagance of the government itself. In this the Congress has made a commendable beginning, but although the Congress makes the appropriations, the departments make the expenditures, which are not under legislative but executive control. The extravagant standards bred of recent years must be eliminated. This should show immediately in reduced taxation. That great breeder of public and private extravagance, the excess profits tax, should be revised and recourse had to customs taxes on imports, one of the most wholesome of all means of raising revenue, for it is voluntary in effect, and taxes consumption rather than production. It should be laid according to the needs of a creditor nation, for the protection of the public, with a purpose to render us both economically and defensively independent.

A revision of taxation must be accompanied with a reduction of that private extravagance which the returns from luxury taxes reveal as surpassing all comprehension. Waiving the moral effect, the economic effect of such extravagance is to withdraw needed capital and labor from essential industries, greatly increasing the public distress and unrest. There has been profiteering. It should be punished because it is wrong. But it is idle to look to such action for relief. This class profit by scarcity, but they do not cause it.

As every one knows now, the difficulty is caused by the scarcity of material, an abundance of money, and insufficient production. The Government must reduce the amount of money as fast as it can without curtailing necessary credits. Production must be increased. All easy to say but difficult of accomplishment.

One of the chief hindrances to production is lack of adequate railroad facilities.

Transportation must be re-established. A few glaring instances in the past of improper management joined with an improper public attitude thereby created, wrought great harm to our railroads. Government operation left them disintegrated, disorganized, and demoralized. On their service depends agriculture and industry,—the entire public welfare. They must be provided with credit and capital and given the power to serve. This can only be done by removing them from speculation, restoring their prosperity by increased revenues where necessary, thereby re-establishing them in the confidence of the investing public. Their employees must be compensated in accordance with the great importance of the service they render. The whole railroad operation must be restored to public confidence by public support.

There must be a different public attitude toward industry, a larger comprehension of the interdependence of capital, management, and labor, and better facilities for the prompt and reasonable adjustment of industrial disputes. It is well to remember, too, that high prices produce their own remedy under the law of supply and demand. Already in the great leather and woolen industries there is a recession in the basic elements which must soon be reflected in retail prices. When buying stops prices come down.

This condition has borne with especial severity on the agricultural interests of the nation. To cope with it the farmers need an enlarged power of organization whereby the original producer may profit to a larger degree by the high prices paid for his produce by the ultimate consumer, and at the same time decrease the cost of food. The economic strength of a country rests on the farm. Industrial activity is dependent upon it. It replenishes the entire life of the nation. Agriculture is entitled to be suitably rewarded and on its encouragement and success will depend the production of a food supply large enough to meet the public needs at reasonable cost.

But all these difficulties depend for final solution on the character and moral force of the nation. Unless these forces abound and manifest themselves in work done there is no real remedy.

There has been a great deal of misconception as to what was won by the victory in France. That victory will not be found to be a substitute for further human effort and endeavor. It did not create magic resources out of which wages could be paid that were not earned, or profits be made without corresponding service; it did not overcome any natural law; it did conquer an artificial thralldom sought to be imposed on mankind and establish for all the earth a new freedom and a larger liberty. But that does not, cannot, mean less responsibility; it means more responsibility, and until the people of this nation understand and accept this increased responsibility and meet it with increased effort, there will be no relief from the present economic burdens.

In all things a return to a peace basis does not mean the basis of 1914. That day is gone. It means a peace basis of the present, higher, nobler, because of the sacrifices made and the duties assumed. It is not a retreat, it is a new summons to advance.

Diminishing resources warn us of the necessity of conservation. The public domain is the property of the public. It is held in trust for present and future generations. The material resources of our country are great, very great, but they are not inexhaustible. They are becoming more and more valuable and more and more necessary to the public welfare. It is not wise either to withhold water power, reservoir sites, and mineral deposits from development or to deny a reasonable profit to such operations. But these natural resources are not to be turned over to speculation to the detriment

Bravure Andersen-Lamb, La N.Y.

J. W. Mondell

of the public. Such a policy would soon remove these resources from public control and the result would be that soon the people would be paying tribute to private greed. Conservation does not desire to retard development. It permits it and encourages it. It is a desire honestly to administer the public domain. The time has passed when public franchises and public grants can be used for private speculation.

Whenever in the future this nation undertakes to assess its strength and resources, the largest item will be the roll of those who served her every patriotic capacity in the world war. There are those who bore the civil tasks of that great undertaking, often at heavy sacrifice, always with the disinterested desire to serve their country. There are those who wore the uniform. The presence of the living, the example of the dead, will ever be a standing guaranty of the stability of our Republic. From their rugged virtue springs a never ending obligation to hold unimpaired the principles established by their victory. Honor is theirs forevermore. Duty compels that those promises, so freely made, that out of their sacrifices they should have a larger life, be speedily redeemed. Care of dependents, relief from distress, restoration from infirmity, provision for education, honorable preferment in the public service, a helping hand everywhere, are theirs not as a favor but by right. They have conquered the claim to suitable recognition in all things. The nation which forgets its defenders will be itself forgotten.

Our country has a heart as well as a head. It is social as well as individual. It has a broad and extending sympathy. It looks with the deepest concern to the welfare of those whom adversity still holds at the gateways of the all-inclusive American opportunity. Conscious that our resources have now reached a point where there is an abundance for all, we are determined that no imposition shall hereafter restrain the worthy from their heritage. There will be, can be, no escape from the obligation of the strong to bear the burdens of civilization, but the weak must be aided to become strong. Ample opportunity for education at public expense, reasonable hours of employment always under sanitary conditions, a fair and always a living wage for faithful work, healthful living conditions, childhood and motherhood cherished, honored, rescued from the grasp of all selfishness, and rededicated to the noblest aspiration of the race, these are not socialistic vagaries but the mark of an advancing American civilization, revealed in larger social justice, tempered with an abounding mercy. In this better appreciation of humanity the war carried the nation forward to a new position, which it is our solemn duty not only to maintain but amplify and extend.

There is especially due to the colored race a more general recognition of their constitutional rights. Tempted with disloyalty they remained loyal, serving in the military forces with distinction, obedient to the draft to the extent of hundreds of thousands, investing $1 out of every $5 they possessed in Liberty Bonds; surely they hold the double title of citizenship, by birth and by conquest, to be relieved from all imposition, to be defended from lynching, and to be freely granted equal opportunities.

Equal suffrage, for which I have always voted, is coming. It is not a party question although nearly six-sevenths of the ratifying legislatures have been Republican. The party stands pledged to use its endeavors to hasten ratification, which I trust will be at once accomplished.

There are many domestic questions which I cannot discuss here; their solution is amply revealed in the platform, such as a merchant marine, an adequate army and navy, the establishment of a Department of Public Works, support of the classified

civil service laws, provision for public waterways and highways, a budget system, and other equally pressing subjects. I am not unmindful of their deep importance.

The foreign relations of our country ought not to be partizan but American. If restored to the limitations of constitutional authority on the one hand, and to the protection of the constitutional rights of our citizens on the other, much of their present difficulty would disappear. There can be no sovereignty without a corresponding duty. It is fundamental that each citizen is entitled to the equal protection of the laws. That goes with his citizenship and abides where he lawfully abides, whether at home or abroad. This inherent right must be restored to our people and observed by our government. The persons and property of Americans wherever they may lawfully be, while lawfully engaged, must forever have protection sufficient to insure their safety and cause the punishment of all who violate it. This is theirs as a plain constitutional duty. A government disregarding it invites the contempt of the world and is on the way to humiliation and war. Rejecting the rule of law is accepting the sword of force.

The country cannot be securely restored to a peace basis in any thing until a peace is first made with those with whom we have been at war. The Republicans in Congress, realizing that because of the necessary reliance of one nation on another, there was, more than ever before, mutual need of the sustaining influence of friendly cooperation and rapprochement, twice attempted the establishment of such peace by offers of ratification, which were rejected by the Democratic administration. No one knows now whether war or peace prevails. Our party stands pledged to make immediate peace as soon as it is given power by the people.

The proposed League of Nations without reservation, as submitted by the President to the Senate, met with deserved opposition from the Republican Senators. To a league in that form, subversive of the traditions and the independence of America, The Republican Party is opposed. But our party, by the record of its members in the Senate and by the solemn declaration of its platform, by performance and by promise, approves the principle of agreement among nations to preserve peace, and pledges itself to the making of such an agreement, preserving American independence, and rights, as will meet every duty America owes to humanity. This language is purposely broad, not exclusive but inclusive. The Republican Party is not narrow enough to limit itself to one idea, but wise and broad enough to provide for the adoption of the best plan that can be devised at the time of action. The Senate received a concrete proposition, utterly unacceptable without modifications, which the Republican Senators effected by reservations, and so modified twice voted for ratification, which the Democratic administration twice defeated. The platform approves this action of the Senators. The Republicans insisted on reservations which limit. The Democratic platform and record permit only of reservations unessential and explanatory.

We have been taking counsel together concerning the welfare of America. We have spent much time discussing the affairs of government, yet most of the great concourse of people around me hold no public office, expect to hold no public office. Still in solemn truth they are the government, they are America. We shall search in vain in legislative halls, executive mansions, and the chambers of the judiciary for the greatness or the government of our country. We shall behold there but a reflection, not a reality; successful in proportion to its accuracy. In a free Republic a great government is the product of a great people. They will look to themselves rather than

government for success. The destiny, the greatness of America, lies around the hearthstone. If thrift and industry are taught there, and the example of self sacrifice oft appears; if honor abide there, and high ideals; if there the building of fortune be subordinate to the building of character, America will live in security, rejoicing in an abundant prosperity and good government at home, and in peace, respect, and confidence abroad. If these virtues be absent there is no power that can supply these blessings. Look well then to the hearthstone, therein all hope for America lies.

Delivered at Northampton, Massachusetts
July 27, 1920

Part V

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REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS FROM 1856 TO 1916

ELECTION OF 1856

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, EDWIN D. MORGAN, of New York

Secretary, N. B. JUDD, of Illinois

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Philadelphia, Pa., June 17, 1856.

Chairman pro tem., ROBERT EMMET, of New York

Chairman, HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
JOHN C. FREMONT	WILLIAM L. DAYTON
OF CALIFORNIA	OF NEW JERSEY

THIS was the first National Republican Convention held. The delegates were not chosen by any settled rule. New York with 96, Pennsylvania with 81, and Ohio with 69 votes shows the size of some of the delegations. All of the Northern States were represented, as were Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia.

General John C. Fremont was nominated informally on the first ballot, receiving 359 votes; 196 being cast for John McLean, of Ohio; 2 for Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and 1 for William H. Seward, of New York. On a formal ballot Fremont was unanimously nominated.

On an informal ballot for Vice-President, William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, received 259; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 110; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, 46, while 12 other candidates received some votes each. On a formal ballot Dayton was unanimously nominated.

The convention adopted the following platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all

men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

ELECTION OF 1860

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, EDWIN D. MORGAN, of New York

Secretary, EDWARD MCPHERSON, of Pennsylvania

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., May 16–18, 1860.

Chairman pro tem., DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania

Chairman, GEORGE ASHMUN, of Massachusetts

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
ABRAHAM LINCOLN	HANNIBAL HAMLIN
OF ILLINOIS	OF MAINE

DELEGATES were present from all of the free states, as also from Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Virginia, and from the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, and the District of Columbia. Three ballots were taken, with the following result:

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	3D
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, of New York	173	184	180
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois	102	181	231
SIMON CAMERON, of Pennsylvania	50	2	..
SALMON P. CHASE, of Ohio	49	42	24
EDWARD BATES, of Missouri	48	35	22
WILLIAM L. DAYTON, of New Jersey	14	10	..
JOHN MCLEAN, of Ohio	12	8	5
JACOB COLLAMER, of Vermont	10	8	..

Whole number of votes, 465

Necessary to a choice, 233.

Then Lincoln was nominated by the quick changing of four votes from Ohio, when one delegation after another changed in his favor until 354 votes were recorded for him. On motion of Mr. W. M. Evarts, of New York, the nomination was made

unanimous. For Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated on the second ballot. The following is the vote for Vice-President:

CANDIDATES	1st	2d
Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine	194	367
Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky	101	86
John Hickman, of Pennsylvania	58	13
Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania	51	..
Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts	38	..

The convention adopted the following platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,"—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma,—that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States,—is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself,

Nicholas Murray Butler

with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

ELECTION OF 1864

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, MARCUS L. WARD, of New Jersey

Secretary, JOHN D. DEFREES, of Indiana

(REGULAR) REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1864.

Chairman pro tem., REV. DR. ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky

Chairman, WILLIAM DENNISON, of Ohio

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
ABRAHAM LINCOLN	ANDREW JOHNSON
OF ILLINOIS	OF TENNESSEE

THIRTY-ONE states, including eight Southern States, were represented at this convention. Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President, by a unanimous vote, on the first ballot. Missouri voted for General U. S. Grant, but changed to Lincoln.

For Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was nominated on the first ballot. The vote as first cast was Johnson, 200; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, 150; Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, 108; and 61 votes were scattered among seven others; but before the vote was declared, many changes were reported, leaving the final vote stand: Johnson, 494; Dickinson, 17; and Hamlin, 9.

The following is the platform as adopted:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

1. *Resolved,* That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved,* That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor, to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved,* That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile

Frederick McCormick

to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved,* That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have periled their lives in defense of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved,* That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved,* That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved,* That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved,* That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved,* That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved,* That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved,* That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

ELECTION OF 1868

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, WILLIAM CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts

Secretary, JOHN D. DEFREES, of Indiana

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., May 20–22, 1868.

Chairman pro tem., CARL SCHURZ, of Missouri

Chairman, JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, of Connecticut

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
ULYSSES S. GRANT	SCHUYLER COLFAX
OF ILLINOIS	OF INDIANA

THIS convention was composed of 650 delegates. General Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, was unanimously nominated on the first ballot, receiving 650 votes, the full vote of the convention.

For Vice-President, five ballots had been taken, when Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was nominated. The following is the vote in detail:

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	3D	4TH	5TH
BENJAMIN F. WADE, of Ohio	147	170	178	206	38
REUBEN E. FENTON, of New York	126	144	139	144	69
HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts	119	114	101	87	..
SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana	115	145	165	186	541
ANDREW G. CURTIN, of Pennsylvania	51	45	40	..	..
HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine	28	30	25	25	..
JAMES SPEED, of Kentucky	22	..	..	..	..
JAMES HARLAN, of Iowa	16	..	..	..	..
JOHN A. J. CRESWELL, of Maryland	14	..	..	..	..
SAMUEL C. POMEROY, of Kansas	6	..	..	..	..
WILLIAM D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania	4	..	..	..	..

The convention adopted the following platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The National Republican Party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago, on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the states lately in rebellion, of Constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the govern-

ment to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness to the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this republic—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independ-

ence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

By the admission of Nebraska the whole number of states became thirty-seven; but Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, under an act of Congress, were debarred from choosing electors.

The election occurred on November 3, 1868.

THIRTY-FOUR STATES VOTED.

ELECTION OF 1872

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, EDWIN D. MORGAN, of New York

Secretary, WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, of New Hampshire

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Philadelphia, Pa., June 5–6, 1872.

Chairman pro tem., MORTON MCMICHAEL, of Pennsylvania

Chairman, THOMAS SETTLE, of North Carolina

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
ULYSSES S. GRANT	HENRY WILSON
OF ILLINOIS	OF MASSACHUSETTS

THE renomination of General Grant was conceded before the convention reached a ballot, and he was nominated by a unanimous vote.

In the contest for Vice-President, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, received 364½ votes, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, 321½.

The convention adopted the following platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neigbbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions in the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year; great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the gov-

ernment to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union, by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all people who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"Once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves

as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the state and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start today upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

ELECTION OF 1876

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, ZACH. CHANDLER, of Michigan

Secretary, R. C. MCCORMICK, of Arizona

Mr. Chandler having resigned, J. DONALD CAMERON was selected as Chairman, and THOS. B. KEOGH, of North Carolina, succeeded Mr. McCormick as Secretary.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Cincinnati, O., June 14–16, 1876.

Chairman pro tem., THEODORE M. POMEROY, of New York

Chairman, EDWARD MCPHERSON, of Pennsylvania

NOMINATED

For President
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES
OF OHIO

For Vice-President
WILLIAM A. WHEELER
OF NEW YORK

THE attempt to enforce the unit rule failed, the decision of the chair being sustained by a vote of 395 to 354. The vote was taken on an appeal from a decision of the chair in which he had recognized the right of four members of the Pennsylvania delegation to have their votes separately recorded. The platform as reported by the Committee on Resolutions was opposed by a minority. E. L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out the eleventh resolution, relating to the Chinese. The motion to strike out was lost by a vote of 215 to 532. E. J. Davis, of Texas, moved to strike out the fourth resolution and insert a clause for the immediate resumption of specie payments. This was rejected without a roll-call, and the platform was then adopted.

Seven ballots were taken for a candidate for President, when Rutherford B. Hayes was unanimously nominated. The following is the ballot in detail:

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	3D	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH
JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
OLIVER P. MORTON, of Indiana	125	120	113	108	95	85	..
BENJAMIN H. BRISTOW, of Kentucky	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
ROSCOE CONKLING, of New York	99	93	90	84	82	81	..
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
JOHN F. HARTRANFT, of Pennsylvania	58	63	68	71	69	50	..
MARSHALL JEWELL, of Connecticut	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scattering	3	4	3	5	5	5	..
Whole number of votes	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary to a choice	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

For Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, of New York, was unanimously chosen. The following is the platform as adopted:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:—

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truth spoken at its cradle: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provisions, at the earliest practicable period, for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickening conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public-school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants, in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures, in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the territories, that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperial national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendency in the Lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

ELECTION OF 1880

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, DWIGHT M. SABIN, of Minnesota

Secretary, JOHN A. MARTIN, of Kansas

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 2–8, 1880.

Chairman pro tem. and permanent Chairman, GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
JAMES A. GARFIELD	CHESTER A. ARTHUR
OF OHIO	OF NEW YORK

THREE days were spent in perfecting organization. It was at this convention that the unit-rule received its death-blow. Thirty-six ballots were taken before James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President. The following is a brief summary:

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	20TH	34TH	35TH	36TH
ULYSSES S. GRANT, of Ohio	304	305	308	312	313	306
JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine	284	282	276	278	257	42
JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio	98	94	96	99	99	3
GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, of Vermont	34	32	31	11	11	..
E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois	30	31	35	30	23	5
WILLIAM WINDOM, of Minnesota	10	10	10	3	3	..
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of Ohio	..	10	1	17	50	399

Scattering votes were cast for R. B. Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, Phil. Sheridan, Roscoe Conkling, and (?) McCreary.

For Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of New York, was nominated on the first ballot. The following table shows for whom the votes were cast:

CANDIDATES	VOTES	CANDIDATES	VOTES
CHESTER A. ARTHUR, of New York	468	BLANCHE K. BRUCE, of Mississippi	8
ELIHU B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois	199	JAMES L. ALCORN, of Mississippi	4
MARSHALL JEWELL, of Connecticut	43	THOMAS SETTLE, of Florida	2
HORACE MAYNARD, of Tennessee	30	STEWART L. WOODFORD, of New York	1
EDMUND J. DAVIS, of Texas	20		

The following is the platform as adopted:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:—

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority; it reconstructed the union of the states with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone; it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens; it relieved Congress of the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid $880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest-charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty years has been such as to command it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt, so much reduced, should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already increasing, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the states; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the state tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several states, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each state, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that, slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to

develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the states in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation.

The dangers of a "Solid South" can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the states. The "Solid South" must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the states of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the cooperation of the legislative with the executive departments of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

ELECTION OF 1884

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, B. F. JONES, of Pennsylvania

Secretary, SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Connecticut

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 3–6, 1884.

Chairman pro tem., JOHN R. LYNCH, of Mississippi

Chairman, JOHN B. HENDERSON, of Missouri

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
JAMES G. BLAINE	JOHN A. LOGAN
OF MAINE	OF ILLINOIS

WHEN the convention met there was a contest for the temporary chairmanship, which resulted in the selection of John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, a distinguished colored man, by 431 votes, against 387 given for Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, At this convention an important rule was adopted, excluding all office-holders as members of the national committee, and for allowing more freedom in the selection of delegates to future conventions. As a candidate for President, James G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated on the fourth ballot, as follows:

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	3D	4TH
JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine	334½	349	375	541
CHESTER A. ARTHUR, of New York	278	276	274	207
GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, of Vermont	93	85	69	41
JOHN A. LOGAN, of Illinois	63½	61	53	7
JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio	30	28	25	..
JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, of Connecticut	13	13	13	15
ROBERT T. LINCOLN, of Illinois	4	4	8	2
WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, of Missouri	2	2	2	..

Mr. Blaine's nomination was afterward made unanimous.

For Vice-President, John A. Logan, of Illinois, was nominated by 779 votes; Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin, received 7, and Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, 6.

The convention adopted the following platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation

and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration—a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation, by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general legislation by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such

further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-residents or aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not an American federacy of states. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of a voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

ELECTION OF 1888

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, M. S. Quay, of Pennsylvania

Secretary, J. Sloat Fassett, of New York

In 1891 Mr. Quay resigned, and James S. Clarkson, of Iowa, was chosen Chairman.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 19, 1888.

Chairman pro tem., John M. Thurston, of Nebraska

Chairman, M. M. Estee, of California

NOMINATED

For President
BENJAMIN HARRISON
OF INDIANA

For Vice-President
LEVI P. MORTON
OF NEW YORK

THE session of this convention was one of the longest in the history of the country, having lasted for six days. From among the large number of candidates for President, Benjamin Harrison was chosen on the eighth ballot. The following is the vote in detail:

CANDIDATES	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
John Sherman, of Ohio	229	249	244	235	224	244	231	118
Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana	111	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
Chauncey M. Depew, of New York	99	99	91	....	....	....	....	..
Russel A. Alger, of Michigan	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana	80	91	94	217	213	231	278	544
William B. Allison, of Iowa	72	75	88	88	99	73	76	..
James G. Blaine, of Maine	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
John J. Ingalls, of Kansas	28	16	....	....	....	....	....	..
Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin	25	20	16	....	....	....	....	..
William W. Phelps, of New Jersey	25	18	5	....	....	....	....	..
E. H. Fitler, of Pennsylvania	24	....	....	....	....	....	....	..
Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	..
Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois	3	2	2	1	....	....	2	..
William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
Samuel F. Miller, of Iowa	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	..
Frederick Douglass, of Dist. of Col.	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	..
Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio	....	....	....	1	....	1	1	..

CANDIDATES	1ST	2D	3D	4TH	5TH	6TH	7TH	8TH
FREDERICK D. GRANT, of New York	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....
CREED HAYMOND, of California	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....
Whole number of votes	830	830	830	829	827	830	831	830
Necessary to a choice	416	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

For Vice-President, Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 591 votes. Votes were also cast for other candidates, as follows: William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, 119; William O. Bradley, of Kentucky, 103; Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, 11; and Walter F. Thomas, of Texas, 1.

The following is the platform as adopted:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln;—and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders, who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall, with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

FREE SUFFRAGE

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the states; to the autonomy reserved to the states under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the states and territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

DUTIES ON WOOL

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the states.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land-grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

HOME RULE IN TERRITORIES

The government by Congress of the territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become states in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the territory wherein they are to serve.

ADMITTANCE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a state in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish state governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as state—such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

MORMONISM.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Repub-

lican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute-books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

BIMETALLISM.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

REDUCTION OF LETTER POSTAGE

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

FREE SCHOOLS

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

ARMY AND NAVY FORTIFICATIONS

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

PROTECTION OF OUR FISHERIES

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy. The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be, on a lawful errand.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the

Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

PENSIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury, it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

RESOLUTION RELATING TO PROHIBITION

Offered by Mr. Boutelle, of Maine:

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

ELECTION OF 1892

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, THOMAS H. CARTER, of Montana

Secretary, LOUIS E. MCCOMAS, of Maryland

Mr. McComas having been appointed to a judgeship in the District of Columbia, JOSEPH H. MANLEY, of Maine, succeeded him.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Minneapolis, Minn., June 7–10, 1892.

Chairman pro tem., J. SLOAT FASSETT, of New York

Chairman, WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR., of Ohio

NOMINATED

For President
BENJAMIN HARRISON
OF INDIANA

For Vice-President
WHITELAW REID
OF NEW YORK

ON the first ballot for a candidate for President, Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was nominated for a second term. The vote stood as follows:

CANDIDATES	VOTES	CANDIDATES	VOTES
BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana	535⅙	THOMAS B. REED, of Maine	4
JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine	182⅚	ROBERT T. LINCOLN, of Illinois	1
WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR., of Ohio	182	Whole number of votes	905
		Necessary to a choice	453

For Vice-President, Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated by acclamation.

The platform of the Tenth National Republican Convention, at Minneapolis, adopted June 9, 1892, is as follows:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:—

THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTION

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the last Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be pro-

duced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

TRIUMPH OF RECIPROCITY.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

FREE AND SAFE COINAGE OF GOLD AND SILVER

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper, or coin, issued by the government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

FREEDOM OF THE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

OUTRAGES IN THE SOUTH

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

MONROE DOCTRINE

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the republic in its broadest sense.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

EMPLOYEES OF RAILROADS

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective states that will protect employees engaged in state commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

CHAMPIONING THE OPPRESSED

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among all men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities

which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

TRUSTS CONDEMNED

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

FREE-DELIVERY SERVICE

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free-delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Postoffice Department and the highest class of postal service.

SPIRIT OF CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

TERRITORIES

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable day, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States.

FEDERAL TERRITORIAL OFFICERS

All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ARID LANDS

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the states and territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

SYMPATHY FOR TEMPERANCE

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

PLEDGES TO THE VETERANS

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and a just recognition of their claims upon a grateful people.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION COMMENDED

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

ELECTION OF 1896

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, MARCUS A. HANNA, of Ohio

Secretary, WM. M. OSBORN, of Massachusetts

Mr. Osborn having resigned, CHARLES DICK, of Ohio, was chosen secretary.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

St. Louis, Mo., June 16, 1896.

Chairman pro tem., CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana

Chairman, JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
WILLIAM McKINLEY	GARRET A. HOBART
OF OHIO	OF NEW JERSEY

AFTER the platform had been adopted by the convention, thirty-four members who had protested against the financial plank without avail, solemnly withdrew from the convention. William McKinley, of Ohio, was chosen as the candidate for President on the first ballot, as is shown in the following table:

CANDIDATES	VOTES	CANDIDATES	VOTES
WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio	661½	LEVI P. MORTON, of New York	58
THOMAS B. REED, of Maine	84½	WILLIAM B. ALLISON, of Iowa	35½
MATTHEW S. QUAY, of Pennsylvania	61½	J. DONALD CAMERON, of Pennsylvania	1
		Blank	4

As the candidate for Vice-President, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was also chosen on the first ballot, as is shown below:

CANDIDATES	VOTES	CANDIDATES	VOTES
GARRET A. HOBART, of New Jersey	535½	CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York	3
HENRY CLAY EVANS, of Tennessee	277½	JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska	2
MORGAN G. BULKELEY, of Connecticut	39	FREDERICK D. GRANT, of New York	2
JAMES A. WALKER, of Virginia	24	LEVI P. MORTON, of New York	1
CHARLES W. LIPPITT, of Rhode Island	8	Whole number of votes	895
THOMAS B. REED, of Maine	3	Necessary to a choice	448

The convention adopted the following as the platform:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of the thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, the patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

TARIFF

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by the conditions of time and of production: the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

RECIPROCITY.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade, and finds an outlet for our surplus.

SUGAR

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar-producers of this country. The Republican party favors such

protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than $100,000,000 annually.

WOOL AND WOOLENS

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory; to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

MERCHANT MARINE

We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

FINANCE

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

PENSIONS

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable, they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfilment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish islands we should secure a proper and much needed naval station in the West Indies.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

MONROE DOCTRINE

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American state for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe

that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

THE NAVY

The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

CIVIL SERVICE

The civil-service law was placed on the statute-book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable.

FREE BALLOT

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

LYNCHINGS

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching, or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

HOMESTEADS

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

TERRITORIES

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ALASKA

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

TEMPERANCE

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

ELECTION OF 1900

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, MARCUS A. HANNA, of Ohio

Secretary, PERRY S. HEATH, of Indiana

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Philadelphia, Pa., June 19–21, 1900.

Chairman pro tem., EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, of Colorado

Chairman, HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
WILLIAM McKINLEY	THEODORE ROOSEVELT
OF OHIO	OF NEW YORK

THIS convention was composed of 924 delegates, including two from Hawaii. William McKinley was unanimously renominated for President on the first ballot.

For Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was unanimously nominated on the first ballot, receiving 923 votes, one less than the full number, he having refrained from voting.

At this convention but one candidate was presented for each office.

The platform adopted by the Twelfth Republican National Convention, on June 20, 1900, is as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

EXPECTATIONS FULFILLED

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

PROMISE OF PROSPERITY REDEEMED

The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures: a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed.

Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied.

GROWTH OF EXPORT TRADE

No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this, that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came, the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action; its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

MCKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION INDORSED

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY A MENACE TO PROSPERITY

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

MONETARY LEGISLATION

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER OPPOSED

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

TRUSTS

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies,

to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

PROTECTION POLICY REAFFIRMED

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market, competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates—higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working-people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world.

RECIPROCITY FAVORED

We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION, AND OTHER LABOR-LEGISLATION

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working-children, the raising of the age limit for child-labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

SHIPPING

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign-carrying trade is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

DEBT TO SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded on this just sentiment, should be liberally administered, and preference should be given, wherever practicable, with respect to employment in the public service, to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined, as far as practicable, to their inhabitants.

THE RACE QUESTION

It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of state governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

PUBLIC ROADS

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several states.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY

We favor the extension of the rural free-delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

LAND-LEGISLATION

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective states and territories.

NEW STATES PROPOSED

We favor home-rule for, and the early admission to statehood of, the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

REDUCTION OF WAR TAXES

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations, that its newly funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

ISTHMIAN CANAL AND NEW MARKETS

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an isthmian canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is to be warmly commended for its successful efforts to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in the charge of a secretary with a seat in the cabinet. The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department, upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

SERVICES OF WOMEN

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid Association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the East and West Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. SAMOAN AND HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE. THE MONROE DOCTRINE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

We commend the part taken by our government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine. The provisions of The Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by The Hague Treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

SOVEREIGNTY IN NEW POSSESSIONS

In accepting, by the Treaty of Paris, the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations.

Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA

To Cuba, independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

INVOKES THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE

The Republican party, upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

ELECTION OF 1904

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, GEORGE B. CORTELYOU, of New York

Secretary, ELMER DOVER, of Ohio

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 21–23, 1904.

Chairman pro tem., ELIHU ROOT, of New York

Chairman, JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
THEODORE ROOSEVELT	CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
OF NEW YORK	OF INDIANA

THIS convention was composed of 994 delegates. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was unanimously nominated for President on a roll call of states.

For Vice-President, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was unanimously nominated by acclamation. Only one name was presented for each office.

The platform adopted by the convention follows:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence dedicated, among other purposes, to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have clapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the Government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the Government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years.

This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equalled in history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

REPUBLICAN ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1897

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added lustre even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war.

We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint, and confidence was gone.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once.

We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sec-

tional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

For deficient revenues supplemented by improvident issues of bonds we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish war had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the Government.

The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Pekin and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and protection of our honor and our interests.

Our administration of the great departments of the Government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws, insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress.

In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:—

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF

Protection which guards and develops our industries is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad.

We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system.

However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always

been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity.

To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

THE GOLD STANDARD MUST BE UPHELD

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption, and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

ENCOURAGE THE MERCHANT MARINE

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages, and heavy subsidies of foreign governments has not for many years received from the Government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

MAINTAIN THE NAVY

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and watch over our commerce is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

EXCLUDE CHINESE LABOR

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

ENFORCE THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

ADMINISTER PENSION LAWS LIBERALLY

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

ARBITRATION

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine by arbitration.

PROTECT AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

OUR POLICY REGARDING CHINA

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

ENFORCE THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS REGARDING ELECTIVE FRANCHISE

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any state has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

COMBINATIONS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws, and neither can be permitted to break them.

MC KINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death, and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, and earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to tbe principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency, and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COAL STRIKE

The confidencc of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of the winter in 1902.

ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but to the highest degree successful. The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe Doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

PANAMA

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route, but avoided all foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

IN THE ORIENT

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law, that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

ELECTION OF 1908

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, FRANK H. HITCHCOCK, of Massachusetts

Secretary, WILLIAM HAYWARD, of Nebraska

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 16–20, 1908.

Temporary Chairman, JULIUS C. BURROWS, of Michigan

Permanent Chairman, HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT	JAMES S. SHERMAN
OF OHIO	OF NEW YORK

MR. TAFT was nominated on the first ballot with 702 out of 980 votes. Others voted for were Knox 68, Hughes 67, Cannon 58, Fairbanks 40, La Follette 25, Foraker 16. The nomination was immediately made unanimous.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

TRIBUTE TO THE PARTY

Once more the Republican party in national convention assembled submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world now meets the new problems of the Government with the same spirit with which it solved the old. In this the greatest era of American advancement the Republican party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history. In no other period since the national sovereignty was won under Washington or preserved under Lincoln has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality, and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and the worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted up to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and high standards of right and wrong in private life have been the cardinal principles of political life. Capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence and the abuse of wealth and the tyranny of power, and all evils and privileged favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple and manly virtues of justice and fair play.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

The greatest accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been first and foremost a brave and impartial enforcement of the law. The prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies, the exposure and punishment of evil doers in the

public service, the more effective regulation of the rates and services of the great transportation lines, the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates, and discriminations, the arbitration of labor disputes, the amelioration of the conditions of wage-earners everywhere, the conservation of the natural resources of the country, the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways, and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guaranties of life, liberty, and property, these are the elements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do.

We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under the Republican administration of the Government.

COUNTRY'S GREAT PROSPERITY

Under the guidance of the Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all of her colonies and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born the wealth of this country was $16,000,000,000. It has leaped to $110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but $60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all the modern manufactured products.

In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the stable foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn, and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, American supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great national wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of 3,000,000 square miles literally bursting with latent treasure still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, embarrassed in its riches and treasures, and all the products of the field, the forest, and the factory. With gratitude to God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity to all.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests are founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of the Republican policies as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people of the United States because of our American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce, and manufacturing.

Since the election of William McKinley in 1896 the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of trusting to the Republican party, through decisive majorities, the control and direction of national affairs. The many wise and comprehensive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of the Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march to our better government.

RECORD OF LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of the Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill, the appointment of a national monetary commission, the employers' government liability law, the measures for the greater efficiency of the Army and the Navy, the widows' pension bill, the child labor law for the District of Columbia, the new statute for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

TARIFF REVISION PROMISED

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of the Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress, which are now investigating the operation and effect of these schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of a maximum and minimum rate to be administered by the President under limitations fixed by the law, the maximum to be available to meet the discrimination by foreign countries against Ameri-

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can goods entering our markets, and the minimum representing the normal measure of protection at home, the aim and the purpose of Republican policy being not only to preserve without excessive duties the security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers, and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wageworkers of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system.

PHILIPPINE TARIFF

Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

CURRENCY

We approve the emergency measure adopted by the Government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such a stringency. The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs, and the appointment of a national monetary commission by the present Congress which will impartially investigate all the proposed methods and insure the early realization of this purpose.

The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population, multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic changes in the monetary condition, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants, and business men in general; must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in the interest rates, and all must be in harmony with the Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

POSTAL SAVINGS

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

TRUSTS

The Republican party passed the Sherman antitrust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless Administration; but experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better obtained by such amendment as will give the Federal Government greater supervision and control over and greater publicity in the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

RAILROADS

We approve the enactment of the railroad-rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present Administration of the statute against rebates and discrimination, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared. And in this connection we commend an appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate and give publicity to the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the Commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever.

We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the overissue of stocks and bonds in the future by interstate carriers.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employers' liability law, the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statute, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen, the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers, the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between the interests of railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the Government, were the most commendable accomplishments of the present Administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for the safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

HELP TO WORKERS

The wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor, to establish the eight-hour day in the construction of all public work, to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy law, to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia, to direct the investigation into the condition of the working women and children, and later of the employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business, to appropriate $150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of loss of life in the mines, and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor will be pursued in every legitimate direction in Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and the advancement of all who toil.

The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage-earners generally for their well being and the well being of all.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and the integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their power to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate.

We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunctions should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing should be granted thereafter.

THE FARMER

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-workers is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the National Government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself, but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established. It now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefit of the postal service. We recognize the social and economic advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense and less and less at the expense of the abutting property owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiment and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

NEGRO PROBLEM

The Republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American negro. It gave him freedom and assistance, wrote in the organic law the declaration which proclaimed his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his worthy progress in intelligence, industry, and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men without regard to race or color. We declare once more and without reservation for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro, and we condemn all devices which have for their real aim his disfranchisement, and that for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American, and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

CONSERVATION OF FORESTS

We indorse the movement inaugurated by the Administration for the conservation of the natural resources. We approve of measures to prevent the waste of timber. We commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In the line of this splendid undertaking is the future duty equally imperative to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan just to all persons of the country of the waterways, harbors, and Great Lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of benign Providence.

ARMY AND NAVY

The Sixtieth Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the Army and Navy, making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment, authorizing joint maneuvers of Army and militia, fortifying new naval bases, and completing the construction of the coaling stations, instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and

ships, and added 2 new battleships, 10 torpedo-boat destroyers, 3 steam colliers, and 8 submarines to the strength of the Navy. Although at peace with all the world and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to the policy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines and assure her a proper part in promoting tranquillity among the nations.

CITIZENS ABROAD

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the Administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon a just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens without distinction right of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH

Under the administration of the Republican party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until its present annual valuation is approximately three billion dollars and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which otherwise would be idle. It has inaugurated through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico a new era of pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics having a common historic heritage, a republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the cause of international peace so strongly advanced in The Hague conference are occasions for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the United States Senate eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals; plans were laid for the restrictions of submarine mines; limiting the use of force for the collection of international debts; governing the opening of hostilities; extending the application of the Geneva principle in many ways; lessening the evils of war, and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were affirmed and extradition principles were ratified. We indorse such achievement as the highest duty of people to perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all the nations of the world.

MERCHANT MARINE

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will advance the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to the national defense, the enlargement of avenues of trade, and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

PENSIONS

Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous appreciation for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pension made by the present Congress and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of the heroic sacrifices grow more sacred with the passing years.

CIVIL SERVICE

We reaffirm our former declarations regarding the civil-service law.

PUBLIC HEALTH

We commend the efforts made to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect its purpose.

MINING

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country we earnestly support the establishment of a bureau of mines and mining.

COLONIAL

The American Government in Republican hands has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present condition in Cuba vindicates the wisdom of maintaining between that republic and this imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land. In Porto Rico the Government of the United States has met with loyal and patriotic support. Order and prosperity prevail and the well-being of the people in every respect promoted and conserved. We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once made collectively citizens of the United States, and

that all others properly qualified under existing law residing in said islands should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established, and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policy of McKinley and Roosevelt is leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing home rule.

PANAMA CANAL

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great isthmian canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of the centuries is coming in view in the near future.

STATEHOOD

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

LINCOLN CENTENARY

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, that immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great Republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation by all the people, and especially by the public schools as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY CONTRASTED

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican party could be inaugurated and none of the forward steps here proposed could be taken under a Democratic administration, nor under one in which the party responsibility is divided. The continuance of the present policies absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which makes one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust. In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stood for debased currency, the other for honest money; the one for free silver, the other for honest currency; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for expansion. One has been forced to abandon every position it has taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one means adversity, while the other means prosperity. One means low wages, the other means high wages. One means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose. One stands for obstruction, the other for construction. One promises, the other performs. One finds fault, the other finds work. The present tendencies of the two parties are more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take, Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of position which would soon leave no one anything to possess. Republicanism would give equality to each; it would assure to each his share of the constantly increasing sum of possession.

In line with this tendency the Democratic party to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican party believes in government legislation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of political differences, unite in a desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings, and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

Charles T. Sabin

ELECTION OF 1912

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, CHARLES D. HILLES, of New York

Secretary, JAMES B. REYNOLDS, of Massachusetts

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 18–22, 1912.

Temporary Chairman, ELIHU ROOT, of New York

Permanent Chairman, ELIHU ROOT, of New York

NOMINATED

For President	*For Vice-President*
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT	JAMES S. SHERMAN
OF OHIO	OF NEW YORK

PRESIDENT TAFT was nominated on the first ballot. The vote was Taft 561, Roosevelt 107, Hughes 2, Cummins 17, La Follette 41, not voting 344, absent 6. Mr. Sherman died before election day and Nicholas Murray Butler was named in his place.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republican Party, assembled by its representatives in national convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican Party and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln.

In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

PRIDE IN PARTY'S RECORD

The Republican Party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction, and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendency in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfillment of one great pledge to the fulfillment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which is a government of laws not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men, and for the interpretation of law by an untrammeled and independent judiciary, have proved

themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces 100,000,000 people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals, and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

HOW NATION HAS GROWN

Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support and managed by the people themselves, the Government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

The Republican Party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions which social, economic, and political development have brought into the forefront of the Nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the Nation, but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health, to limit effectively the labor of women and children, to protect wage-earners engaged in dangerous occupations, to enact comprehensive and generous workman's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability, and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

PROTECTION OF LIBERTY

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, as far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual, and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and State constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the function of independent courts of justice.

The Republican Party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

WOULD HURRY LAWSUITS

That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican Party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

MONOPOLY AND PRIVILEGE

The Republican Party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute book the interstate commerce act of 1887 and the important amendments thereto, and the antitrust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the re-establishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country can be carried on without fear and without disturbance and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republi-

can Party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing antitrust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law, in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessaries of life, in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

In the enforcement and administration of Federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein there is much that may be committed to a Federal trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the laws and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

THE TARIFF POLICY

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workingmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this, correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

TARIFF BOARD INDORSED

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican Party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic Party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

COST OF LIVING

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

The Republican Party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove such abuses as may be found to exist, in order that the cost of food, clothing, and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

The Republican Party has always stood for a sound currency and safe banking metbods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payment and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency system. Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics

and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or State charters, must be carefully protected, and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial, or political interests.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for another purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican Party stands committed to the maintenance, extension, and enforcement of the civil-service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service, in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We favor the amendment of the Federal employers' liability law so as to extend its provisions to all Government employees, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress.

We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions, or elections.

CONSERVATION POLICY

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide homeseekers, prospectors, and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

PARCEL POST ASKED

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcel post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system—in proportion to the length of carriage.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENSHIP

We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation, and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

NEW BATTLESHIPS URGED

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defense, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of battleships.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a merchant marine. There should be American ships and plenty of them, to make use of the great American interoceanic canal now nearing completion.

FOR FLOOD PROTECTION

The Mississippi River is the Nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from 31 States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many millions acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce, and causing great loss of

J Wadsworth Jr

life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States, unaided, cannot cope with this giant problem. Hence, we believe the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control, so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

RECLAMATION OF LANDS

We favor the continuance of the policy of the Government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the landowners under it.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

LIBERAL ALASKAN POLICY

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that District, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the Navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

PHILIPPINE ATTITUDE

The Philippine policy of the Republican Party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

We ratify in all its particulars the platform of 1908 respecting citizenship for the people of Porto Rico.

We pledge the Republican Party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

SAFETY AT SEA

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENT

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the Republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs, all mark the successful progress of Republican administration and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of Government business. Extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection, and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION

We challenge successful criticism of the 16 years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platform of 1900 and of 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his Presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican Party, and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes.

We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican Party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our Nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people, and that new glory will be added to the great Republic.

ELECTION OF 1916

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, WILLIAM R. WILLCOX, of New York

Secretary, JAMES B. REYNOLDS, of Massachusetts

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill., June 7–10, 1916.

Temporary Chairman, WARREN G. HARDING, of Ohio

Permanent Chairman, WARREN G. HARDING, of Ohio

NOMINATED

For President
CHARLES E. HUGHES
OF NEW YORK

For Vice-President
CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
OF INDIANA

CHARLES E. HUGHES was nominated on the third ballot. Votes were cast on all three ballots for Elihu Root, John W. Weeks, Charles W. Fairbanks, Albert B. Cummins, and Theodore Roosevelt.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, can not be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way,

to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

MEXICO

We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged, by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the Government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

MONROE DOCTRINE

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

LATIN AMERICA

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

PHILIPPINES

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government and, if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done, would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican Members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

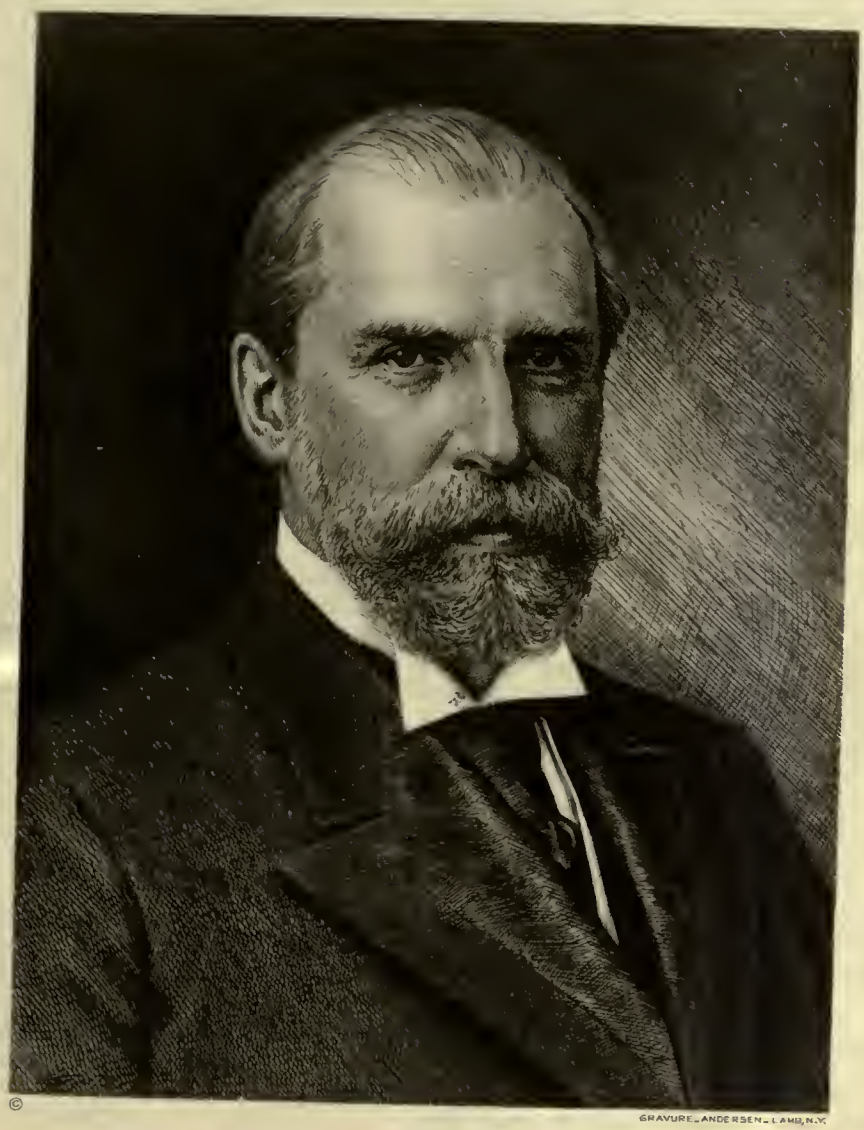
RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic Party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.



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GRAVURE_ANDERSEN_LAMB, N.Y.

Charles E. Hughes

TARIFF

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an antidumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dyestuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

BUSINESS

The Republican Party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and in an inferior product.

The Republican Party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business, should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic Party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican Party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

RURAL CREDITS

We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

MERCHANT MARINE

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic Party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

RAILROADS

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if

necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

ECONOMY AND A NATIONAL BUDGET

The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

CONSERVATION

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the Nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM

The Civil-Service Law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic Party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices outside of the Civil-Service Law at an annual cost of $44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican Party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory should be bona fide residents of the Territory in which their duties are to be performed.

LABOR LAWS

We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child-labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workman's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

SUFFRAGE

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

J G Cannon

Part VI

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN POLITICS

SUMMARY OF ELECTORAL VOTE, 1856-1916

1789. Previous to 1804, each elector voted for two candidates for President. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared President, and the one who received the next largest number of votes was declared Vice-President. The electoral votes for the first President of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntingdon, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia, Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington, of Virginia, John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen President and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.

1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of ten States, which, being the largest vote cast for a candidate, elected him President. Burr received the votes of four States, which, being the next largest vote, elected him Vice-President. There were 2 blank votes.

1804. The Constitution of the United States having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates for President. The result was as follows: For President, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

1808. For President, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 6. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King, of New York, Fed-

eralist, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

1812. For President, James Madison, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, Republican, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Gerry Vice-President.

1816. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen President and Tompkins Vice-President.

1820. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen President and Daniel D. Tompkins Vice-President.

1824. For President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Republican, 99; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 84; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Republican, 37; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Republican, 41. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Republican, 182; Nathan Sanford, of New York, Republican, 30; Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, Republican, 24; Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Republican, 13; Martin Van Buren, of New York, Republican, 9; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Republican, 2; Calhoun was chosen Vice-President.

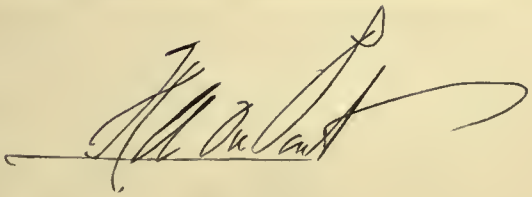
There was no choice in the Electoral College in 1824, for President, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which chose John Quincy Adams for President, he receiving 87 votes, as against 71 for Jackson, and 54 for Crawford.

1828. For President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Democrat, 178; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, National Republican, 83. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Democrat, 171; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, National Republican, 83; William Smith, of South Carolina, Democrat, 7.

1832. For President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Democrat, 219; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, National Republican, 49; John Floyd, of Georgia, Independent, 11; William Wirt, of Maryland, Anti-Mason, 7. For Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, of New York, Democrat, 189; John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, National Republican, 49; Henry Lee, of Massachusetts, Independent, 11; Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, Anti-Mason, 7; William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, Democrat, 30.

1836. For President, Martin Van Buren, of New York, Democrat, 170; Wm. Henry Harrison, of Ohio, Whig, 73; Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, Whig, 26; Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Whig, 14; Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina, Whig, 11. For Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Democrat, 147; F. Granger, of New York, Whig, 77; John Tyler, of Virginia, Whig, 47; Wm. Smith, of Alabama, Democrat, 23.

1840. For President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, Whig, 234; Martin Van Buren, of New York, Democrat, 60. For Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia, Whig, 234; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Democrat, 48; Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, Democrat, 11; James K. Polk, of Tennessee, Democrat, 1.



1844. For President, J. K. Polk, of Tennessee, Democrat, 170; H. Clay, of Kentucky, Whig, 105. For Vice-President, G. M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, Democrat, 170. T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, Whig, 105.

1848. For President, Zach. Taylor, of Louisiana, Whig, 163; Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Democrat, 127. For Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York, Whig, 163; Wm. O. Butler, of Kentucky, Democrat, 127.

1852. For President, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, Democrat, 254; Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, Whig, 42. For Vice-President, W. R. King, Alabama, Democrat, 254; W. A. Graham, North Carolina, Whig, 42.

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES

Year Election.	Candidates for President.	States.	Political Party.	Popular Vote.	Plurality.	Electoral Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.	States.	Political Party.	Electoral Vote.
1856.	James Buchanan*	Pa...	Dem...	1,838,169	496,905	174	J. C. Breckinridge*	Ky...	Dem...	174
	John C. Fremont	Cal...	Rep....	1,341,264	.....	114	William L. Dayton	N. J.	Rep....	114
	Millard Fillmore	N.Y.	Amer...	874,538	.....	8	A. J. Donelson	Tenn.	Amer...	8
1860.	Abraham Lincoln*	Ill....	Rep....	1,866,352	491,195	180	Hannibal Hamlin*	Me...	Rep....	180
	Stephen A. Douglas	Ill....	Dem...	1,375,157	.....	12	H. V. Johnson	Ga...	Dem...	12
	J. C. Breckinridge	Ky...	Dem...	845,763	.....	72	Joseph Lane	Ore..	Dem...	72
	John Bell	Tenn.	Union..	589,581	.....	39	Edward Everett	Mass.	Union..	39
1864.	Abraham Lincoln*	Ill....	Rep....	2,216,067	407,342	212	Andrew Johnson*	Tenn.	Rep....	212
	Geo. B. McClellan	N. J.	Dem...	1,808,725	.....	21	Geo. H. Pendleton	O....	Dem...	21
1868.	Ulysses S. Grant*	Ill....	Rep....	3,015,071	305,456	214	Schuyler Colfax*	Ind..	Rep....	214
	Horatio Seymour	N.Y.	Dem...	2,709,615	.....	80	F. P. Blair, Jr	Me...	Dem...	80
1872.	Ulysses S. Grant*	Ill...	Rep....	3,597,070	762,991	286	Henry Wilson*	Mass.	Rep....	286
	Horace Greeley	N. Y.	D.& L..	2,834,079	.....	.....	B. Gratz Brown	Mo..	D.& L..	47
	Charles O'Conor	N. Y.	Dem...	29,408	.....	.....	John Q. Adams	Mass.	Dem...	.....
	James Black	Pa...	Temp..	5,608	.....	.....	John Russell	Mich.	Temp..	.....
	Thos. A. Hendricks	Ind..	Dem...	.....	.....	42	George W. Julian	Ind..	Lib....	5
	B. Gratz Brown	Mo..	Dem...	.....	.....	18	A. H. Colquitt	Ga...	Dem...	5
	Charles J. Jenkins	Ga...	Dem...	.....	.....	2	John M. Palmer	Ill...	Dem...	3
	David Davis	Ill...	Ind....	.....	.....	1	T. E. Bramlette	Ky...	Dem...	3
							W. S. Groesbeck	O....	Dem...	1
							Willis B. Machen	Ky...	Dem...	1
							N. P. Banks	Mass.	Lib....	1
1876.	Samuel J. Tilden	N. Y.	Dem...	4,284,885	250,935	184	T. A. Hendricks	Ind..	Dem...	184
	Ruth'f'd B. Hayes*	O....	Rep....	4,033,950	.....	185	Wm. A. Wheeler*	N. Y.	Rep....	185
	Peter Cooper	N. Y.	Gre'nb.	81,740	.....	.....	Samuel F. Cary	O....	Gre'nb.	.....
	Green Clay Smith	Ky...	Proh...	9,522	.....	.....	Gideon T. Stewart	O....	Proh...	.....
	James B. Walker	Ill...	Amer...	2,636	.....	.....	D. Kirkpatrick	N. Y.	Amer...	.....
1880.	James A. Garfield*	O....	Rep....	4,449,053	7,018	214	Chester A. Arthur*	N. Y.	Rep....	214
	W. S. Hancock	Pa...	Dem...	4,442,035	.....	155	William H. English	Ind..	Dem...	155
	James B. Weaver	Iowa.	Gre'nb.	307,306	.....	.....	B. J. Chambers	Tex..	Gre'nb.	.....
	Neal Dow	Me..	Proh...	10,305	.....	.....	H. A. Thompson	O....	Proh...	.....
	John W. Phelps	Vt...	Amer...	707	.....	.....	S. C. Pomeroy	Kan.	Amer...	.....
1884.	Grover Cleveland*	N. Y.	Dem...	4,911,017	62,683	219	T. A. Hendricks*	Ind..	Dem...	219
	James G. Blaine	Me...	Rep....	4,848,334	.....	182	John A. Logan	Ill...	Rep....	182
	John P. St. John	Kan..	Proh...	151,809	.....	.....	William Daniel	Md..	Proh...	.....
	Benjamin F. Butler	Mass.	Gre'nb.	133,825	.....	.....	A. M. West	Miss.	Gre'nb.	.....
	P. D. Wigginton	Cal...	Amer...	.....	.....	.....				
1888.	Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Dem...	5,538,233	98,017	168	Allen G. Thurman	O....	Dem...	168
	Benj. Harrison*	Ind..	Rep....	5,440,216	.....	233	Levi P. Morton*	N. Y.	Rep....	233
	Clinton B. Fisk	N. J..	Proh...	249,907	.....	.....	John A. Brooks	Mo...	Proh...	.....
	Alson J. Streeter	Ill...	U. L...	148,105	.....	.....	C. E. Cunningham	Ark..	U. L...	.....
	R. H. Cowdry	Ill...	U'd L..	2,808	.....	.....	W. H. T. Wakefield	Kan..	U'd L..	.....
	James L. Curtis	N. Y.	Amer...	1,591	.....	.....	James B. Greer	Tenn.	Amer...	.....

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

HENRY P. SCOTT

Year Election.	Candidates for President.	States.	Political Party.	Popular Vote.	Plurality.	Electoral Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.	States.	Political Party.	Electoral Vote.
1892.	Grover Cleveland*.	N. Y.	Dem...	5,556,918	380,810	277	Adlai E. Stevenson*	Ill...	Dem...	277
	Benjamin Harrison	Ind..	Rep....	5,176,108	.....	145	Whitelaw Reid....	N. Y.	Rep....	145
	James B. Weaver..	Iowa.	Peop...	1,041,028	.....	22	James G. Field....	Va...	Peop...	22
	John Bidwell.....	Cal..	Proh...	264,133	.....	.....	James B. Cranfill..	Tex..	Proh...	.....
	Simon Wing.....	Mass.	Soc. L..	21,164	.....	.....	Chas. H. Matchett.	N. Y.	Soc. L..	.....
1896.	Wm. McKinley*...	O....	Rep....	7,104,779	601,854	271	Garret A. Hobart*.	N. J..	Rep....	271
	William J. Bryan..	Neb..	Dem..	6,502,925	.....	176	Arthur Sewall.....	Me...	Dem...	149
	William J. Bryan..	Neb..	Peop..		.....	.....	Thomas E. Watson	Ga...	Peop...	27
	Joshua Levering...	Md..	Proh...	132,007	.....	.....	Hale Johnson.....	Ill...	Proh...	.....
	John M. Palmer...	Ill...	N.Dem.	133,148	.....	.....	Simon B. Buckner.	Ky...	N.Dem.	.....
	Chas. H. Matchett	N. Y.	Soc. L..	36,274	.....	.....	Matthew Maguire .	N. J.	Soc. L..	.....
	Charles E. Bentley	Neb..	Nat....	13,969	.....	.....	James H. Southgate	N. C.	Nat....	.....
1900.	Wm. McKinley*...	O....	Rep....	7,207,923	849,790	292	Theo. Roosevelt*..	N. Y.	Rep....	292
	William J. Bryan..	Neb..	Dem.P.	6,358,133	.....	155	Adlai E. Stevenson.	Ill...	Dem.P.	155
	John G. Woolley ..	Ill...	Proh...	208,914	.....	.....	Henry B. Metcalf..	O....	Proh...	.....
	Wharton Barker...	Pa...	MP....	50,373	.....	.....	Ignatius Donnelly .	Minn	MP....	.....
	Eugene V. Debs...	Ind..	Soc. D..	87,814	.....	.....	Job Harriman.....	Cal..	Soc. D..	.....
	Jos. F. Malloney..	Mass.	Soc. L .	39,739	.....	.....	Valentine Remmel.	Pa...	Soc. L..	.....
	J. F. R. Leonard..	Iowa.	U C....	1,059	.....	.....	John G. Woolley...	Ill...	U C....	.....
	Seth H. Ellis.....	O....	U R....	5,698	.....	.....	Sam. T. Nicholson.	Pa...	U R....	.....
1904.	Theo. Roosevelt*..	N. Y.	Rep....	7,623,486	2,545,515	336	Chas.W.Fairbanks*	Ind..	Rep....	336
	Alton B. Parker...	N. Y.	Dem...	5,077,911	.....	140	Henry G. Davis...	W.Va.	Dem...	140
	Eugene V. Debs...	Ind..	Soc....	402,283	.....	.....	Benjamin Hanford.	N. Y.	Soc....	.....
	Silas C. Swallow...	Pa...	Proh...	258,536	.....	.....	George W. Carroll.	Tex..	Proh...	.....
	Thomas E. Watson.	Ga...	Peop...	117,183	.....	.....	Thomas H. Tibbles.	Neb..	Peop...	.....
	Chas. H. Corrigan.	N. Y.	Soc. L..	31,249	.....	.....	William W. Cox...	Ill...	Soc. L..	.....
1908.	William H. Taft*..	O....	Rep....	7,678,908	1,269,804	321	James S. Sherman*	N. Y.	Rep....	321
	William J. Bryan..	Neb..	Dem...	6,409,104	.....	162	John W. Kern.....	Ind..	Dem...	162
	Eugene V. Debs...	Ind..	Soc....	420,793	.....	.....	Benjamin Hanford.	N. Y.	Soc....	.....
	Eugene W. Chafin.	Ariz..	Proh...	253,840	.....	.....	Aaron S. Watkins .	O....	Proh...	.....
	Thos. E. Watson..	Ga...	Peop...	29,100	.....	.....	Samuel Williams...	Ind..	Peop...	.....
	August Gillhaus...	N. Y.	Soc. L..	13,825	.....	.....	Donald L. Munro..	Va...	Soc. L..	.....
	Thos. L. Hisgen...	Mass.	Ind....	82,872	.....	.....	Jno. Temple Graves	Ga...	Ind....	.....
1912.	Woodrow Wilson*..	N. J..	Dem...	6,293,019	2,173,512	435	Thos. R. Marshall*	Ind..	Dem...	435
	William H. Taft...	O....	Rep....	3,484,956	.....	8	Nicholas M. Butler.	N. Y.	Rep....	8
	Theo. Roosevelt...	N. Y.	Prog...	4,119,507	.....	88	Hiram W. Johnson	Cal...	Prog...	88
	Eugene V. Debs...	Ind..	Soc....	901,873	.....	.....	Emil Seidel.....	Wis..	Soc....	.....
	Eugene W. Chafin.	Ariz..	Proh...	207,928	.....	.....	Aaron S. Watkins .	O....	Proh...	.....
	Arthur E. Reimer .	Mass.	Soc. L..	29,259	.....	.....	August Gillhaus...	N. Y.	Soc. L..	.....
1916.	Woodrow Wilson*..	N. J..	Dem...	9,129,269	581,941	277	Thos. R. Marshall*	Ind..	Dem...	277
	Charles E. Hughes.	N. Y.	Rep....	8,547,328	.....	254	Chas. W. Fairbanks	Ind..	Rep....	254
	Allan J. Benson...	N. Y.	Soc....	590,579	.....	.....	Geo. R. Kirkpatrick	N. J..	Soc....	.....
	J. Frank Hanly....	Ind..	Proh...	221,329	.....	.....	Ira Landrith.....	Mass.	Proh...	.....
	Arthur E. Reimer .	Mass.	Soc. L..	14,180	.....	.....	Caleb Harrison....	Ill...	Soc. L..	.....

* The candidates starred were elected.

TOTAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

(From reports of State officials on file in the Department of State, Washington, D. C.)

State.	1888.	1892.	1896.	1900.	1904.	1908.	1912.	1916.
Alabama	174,100	232,757	194,574	158,942	108,845	103,809	117,879	131,177
Arizona	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,722	58,021
Arkansas	158,248	146,769	148,508	127,444	116,421	152,126	124,029	168,310
California	248,306	269,543	297,496	302,399	331,545	386,597	673,527	999,551
Colorado	91,799	93,891	189,819	220,665	243,687	263,877	266,880	293,966
Connecticut	153,984	164,262	174,402	180,140	191,117	189,999	190,398	213,874
Delaware	29,787	37,222	31,538	42,001	43,875	48,024	48,693	51,810
Florida	66,728	35,556	46,456	39,226	39,307	49,360	51,891	80,803
Georgia	142,869	221,616	163,262	122,736	130,992	132,794	121,420	158,690
Idaho	.....	19,609	29,621	57,701	72,578	97,288	105,755	134,615
Illinois	747,683	873,646	1,089,008	1,130,873	1,075,669	1,154,751	1,146,173	2,192,707
Indiana	536,949	553,613	637,124	663,840	681,934	721,126	654,474	718,848
Iowa	404,130	443,159	521,617	530,189	485,902	494,770	492,356	516,495
Kansas	330,216	324,905	335,787	353,766	328,557	375,946	365,497	629,813
Kentucky	344,159	340,844	445,956	467,600	435,765	490,687	453,698	519,947
Louisiana	115,899	115,565	101,046	67,904	53,908	75,146	79,377	92,982
Maine	128,133	116,009	118,504	105,721	96,037	106,336	129,640	136,407
Maryland	210,921	213,275	250,877	264,288	224,224	238,531	231,981	262,039
Massachusetts	344,498	390,672	417,367	414,697	445,146	456,926	488,056	531,817
Michigan	475,356	465,792	544,958	544,375	525,099	541,749	550,976	648,507
Minnesota	263,285	267,238	338,540	316,311	292,959	331,304	334,219	387,364
Mississippi	116,845	52,727	70,472	59,103	58,377	66,904	64,528	86,159
Missouri	521,353	540,650	558,329	683,656	643,861	715,874	698,562	786,762
Montana	.....	44,315	53,217	63,693	64,444	68,822	79,826	177,675
Nebraska	202,622	200,206	224,174	241,430	225,732	266,799	249,208	286,177
Nevada	12,278	10,878	10,314	10,196	12,115	24,526	20,115	33,316
New Hampshire	90,819	89,329	83,567	92,348	90,097	89,592	87,960	89,123
New Jersey	303,801	336,269	371,047	401,206	432,548	467,198	424,622	495,536
New Mexico	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51,245	66,967
New York	1,317,160	1,318,988	1,424,140	1,548,006	1,617,770	1,638,350	1,587,983	1,706,354
North Carolina	285,956	281,025	330,990	292,672	208,110	252,310	244,455	289,912
North Dakota	.....	36,105	47,379	57,795	70,290	94,582	86,580	108,677
Ohio	840,361	850,166	1,014,295	1,035,789	1,004,668	1,121,588	1,037,094	1,165,086
Oklahoma	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	255,228	253,801	292,416
Oregon	61,853	78,491	97,414	84,216	90,154	110,889	137,040	261,340
Pennsylvania	998,115	1,002,112	1,194,358	1,173,214	1,236,738	1,267,443	1,217,502	1,297,097
Rhode Island	40,750	53,193	54,781	56,548	68,656	72,317	77,894	87,816
South Carolina	79,565	70,492	68,938	50,862	55,140	66,398	50,350	63,531
South Dakota	.....	70,513	82,950	96,124	101,395	114,775	116,325	128,942
Tennessee	303,744	264,974	323,796	274,153	242,788	257,515	247,821	272,194
Texas	357,371	422,175	526,693	423,706	234,008	292,472	301,788	372,461
Utah	.....	.....	78,119	93,130	101,626	108,611	112,385	142,915
Vermont	63,440	55,785	63,831	55,785	51,887	52,654	62,841	64,465
Virginia	304,110	292,306	294,959	264,470	130,544	137,066	136,976	153,990
Washington	.....	87,962	93,583	107,524	145,251	183,879	322,799	381,030
West Virginia	159,441	171,071	201,768	220,815	240,026	258,151	268,560	289,842
Wisconsin	354,774	371,222	447,063	442,613	443,014	454,435	399,972	449,377
Wyoming	.....	16,706	20,606	24,646	30,713	37,609	42,296	51,840
Total	11,381,408	12,043,603	13,813,243	13,964,518	13,523,519	14,887,133	15,031,169	18,528,743
Plurality:								
Republican	.....	.....	567,692	861,459	2,544,343	1,269,900	.....	.....
Democratic	.....	363,612	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,160,194	591,385

Figures do not include blank or void ballots or votes cast for names not appearing on any of the electoral tickets specified in the preceding table.

William Barnes

ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, BY PARTIES AND STATES

(Source: Journal of the United States Senate.)

State.	1888.		1892.			1896.		1900.		1904.		1908.		1912.				1916.		1920.		
	R.	D.	R.	D.	P.	R.	D.P	R.	D.	R.	D.	R.	D.	R.	D.	P.	T'l.	R.	D.	R.	D.	—
Alabama	....	10	....	11	....	....	11	....	11	....	11	....	11	....	12	....	12	....	12			
Arizona	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	3	....	3			
Arkansas	....	7	....	8	....	....	8	....	8	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9			
California	8	....	1	8	....	8	1	9	....	10	....	10	....	....	2	11	13	....	13			
Colorado	3	....	....	....	4	....	4	....	4	5	....	....	5	....	6	....	6	....	6			
Connecticut	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	7	....	7	....	....	7	....	7	7	....			
Delaware	....	3	....	3	....	3	....	3	....	3	....	3	....	....	3	....	3	3	....			
Florida	....	4	....	4	....	....	4	....	4	....	5	....	5	....	6	....	6	....	6			
Georgia	....	12	....	13	....	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	14	....	14	....	14			
Idaho	....	....	....	....	3	....	3	....	3	3	....	3	....	....	4	....	4	....	4			
Illinois	22	....	....	24	....	24	....	24	....	27	....	27	....	....	29	....	29	29	....			
Indiana	15	....	....	15	....	15	....	15	....	15	....	15	....	....	15	....	15	15	....			
Iowa	13	....	13	....	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	....	13	....	13	13	....			
Kansas	9	....	....	....	10	....	10	10	....	10	....	10	....	....	10	....	10	....	10			
Kentucky	....	13	....	13	....	12	1	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	13	....	13			
Louisiana	....	8	....	8	....	....	8	....	8	....	9	....	9	....	10	....	10	....	10			
Maine	6	....	6	....	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	....	6	....	6	6	....			
Maryland	....	8	....	8	....	8	....	8	....	1	7	2	6	....	8	....	8	....	8			
Massachusetts	14	....	15	....	....	15	....	15	....	16	....	16	....	....	18	....	18	18	....			
Michigan	13	....	9	5	....	14	....	14	....	14	....	14	....	....	....	15	15	15	....			
Minnesota	7	....	9	....	....	9	....	9	....	11	....	11	....	....	....	12	12	12	....			
Mississippi	....	9	....	9	....	....	9	....	9	....	10	....	10	....	10	....	10	....	10			
Missouri	....	16	....	17	....	....	17	....	17	18	....	18	....	....	18	....	18	....	18			
Montana	....	....	3	....	....	....	3	....	3	3	....	3	....	....	4	....	4	....	4			
Nebraska	5	....	8	....	....	....	8	8	....	8	....	....	8	....	8	....	8	....	8			
Nevada	3	....	....	....	3	....	3	....	3	3	....	....	3	....	3	....	3	....	3			
N. Hampshire	4	....	4	....	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	....	4	....	4	....	4			
New Jersey	....	9	....	10	....	10	....	10	....	12	....	12	....	....	14	....	14	14	....			
New Mexico	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	3	....	3			
New York	36	....	....	36	....	36	....	36	....	39	....	39	....	....	45	....	45	45	....			
No. Carolina	....	11	....	11	....	....	11	....	11	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12			
No. Dakota	....	....	1	1	1	3	....	3	....	4	....	4	....	....	5	....	5	....	5			
Ohio	23	....	22	1	....	23	....	23	....	23	....	23	....	....	24	....	24	....	24			
Oklahoma	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	....	10	....	10	....	10			
Oregon	3	....	3	....	1	4	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	....	5	....	5	5	....			
Pennsylvania	30	....	32	....	....	32	....	32	....	34	....	34	....	....	....	38	38	38	....			
Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	....	5	....	5	5	....			
So. Carolina	....	9	....	9	....	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9	....	9			
South Dakota	....	....	4	....	....	....	4	4	....	4	....	4	....	....	....	5	5	5	....			
Tennessee	....	12	....	12	....	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12			
Texas	....	13	....	15	....	....	15	....	15	....	18	....	18	....	20	....	20	....	20			
Utah	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	3	....	3	....	3	....	4	....	....	4	....	4			
Vermont	4	....	4	....	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	4	....	....	4	4	....			
Virginia	....	12	....	12	....	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	12			
Washington	....	....	4	....	....	....	4	4	....	5	....	5	....	....	....	7	7	....	7			
West Virginia	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	6	....	7	....	7	....	....	8	....	8	7	1			
Wisconsin	11	....	....	12	....	12	....	12	....	13	....	13	....	....	13	....	13	13	....			
Wyoming	....	....	3	....	....	....	3	3	....	3	....	3	....	....	3	....	3	....	3			
Total	233	168	145	277	22	271	176	292	155	336	140	321	162	8	435	88	531	254	277			
Plurality	65	....	....	132	....	95	....	137	....	196	....	159	....	....	347	....	....	....	23			

Arizona became a State February 14, 1912. New Mexico was admitted January 6, 1912.
The electoral vote for Vice-President in 1896 was: Republican, 271; Democratic, 149; Populist, 27.

APPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The ratio under the Constitution was one Representative in Congress for each 30,000 of population. Thereafter, the ratios, as determined by the decennial censuses, were as follows: 1790 and 1800, one to each 33,000; 1810, one in each 35,000; 1820, one in each 40,000; 1830, one in each 47,700; 1840, one in each 70,680; 1850, one in each 93,423; 1860, one in each 127,381; 1870, one in each 131,425; 1880, one in each 151,911; 1890, one in each 173,901; 1900, one in each 194,182; 1910, one in each 211,877.

In 1910, and lasting until the new apportionment under the 1920 Census, each State's quota of Representatives was and is as follows: Alahama, 10; Arizona, 1; Arkansas, 7; California, 11; Colorado, 4; Connecticut, 5; Delaware, 1; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Idaho, 2; Illinois, 27; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 8; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 8; Maine, 4; Maryland, 6; Massachusetts, 16; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 10; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 16; Montana, 2; Nebraska, 6; Nevada, 1; New Hampshire, 2; New Jersey, 12; New Mexico, 1; New York, 43; North Carolina, 10; North Dakota, 3; Ohio, 22; Oklahoma, 8; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 36; Rhode Island, 3; South Carolina, 7; South Dakota, 3; Tennessee, 10; Texas, 18; Utah, 2; Vermont, 2; Virginia, 10; Washington, 5; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 11; Wyoming, 1; total, 435.

Of the thirteen Original States the present quotas are the same as under the Constitution in Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The original quotas in the other Original States were as follows: Georgia, 3; Massachusetts, 8; New Hampshire, 3; New Jersey, 4; New York, 6; North Carolina, 5; Pennsylvania, 8; Rhode Island, 1; and South Carolina, 5.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

HENRY M. SAGE

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, BY STATES, SINCE 1856

1856.

State.	Buchanan, Dem.	Fremont, Rep.	Fillmore, Amer.	State.	Buchanan, Dem.	Fremont, Rep.	Fillmore, Amer.
Alabama	46,739	.....	28,552	Missouri	58,164	.....	48,524
Arkansas	21,910	.....	10,787	New Hampshire	31,891	37,473	410
California	53,365	20,691	36,165	New Jersey	46,943	28,338	24,115
Connecticut	34,495	42,715	2,615	New York	195,878	276,007	124,604
Delaware	8,004	310	6,275	North Carolina	48,246	.....	36,886
Florida	6,358	.....	4,833	Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126
Georgia	56,578	.....	42,228	Pennsylvania	230,686	147,286	82,189
Illinois	105,528	96,278	37,551	Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675
Indiana	118,670	94,375	22,386	South Carolina	.....	.....	.....
Iowa	36,568	45,073	9,669	Tennessee	73,638	.....	66,178
Kentucky	74,642	314	67,416	Texas	31,169	.....	15,639
Louisiana	22,164	.....	20,709	Vermont	10,569	291	60,310
Maine	67,379	39,080	3,325	Virginia	89,826	291	60,278
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460	Wisconsin	52,843	66,090	579
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,726				
Michigan	52,139	71,762	1,660	Total	1,927,995	1,391,555	934,816
Mississippi	35,446	.....	24,195				

1860.

State.	Lincoln, Rep.	Douglas, Dem.	Breckenridge, Dem.	Bell, Union.	State.	Lincoln, Rep.	Douglas, Dem.	Breckenridge, Dem.	Bell, Union.
Ala	.....	13,651	48,831	27,825	Mo	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372
Ark	.....	5,228	28,732	20,094	N. H	37,519	25,883	2,125	441
Cal	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	N. J	58,234	62,801	.....	.....
Conn	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291	N. Y	362,646	312,510	.....	.....
Del	3,888	1,066	7,339	3,822	N. C	.....	2,701	48,339	44,990
Fla	.....	367	8,543	5,437	Ohio	221,610	187,232	11,303	12,193
Ga	.....	11,590	51,889	42,886	Ore	5,345	4,131	5,075	213
Ill	172,171	160,205	2,332	4,913	Pa	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776
Ind	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306	R. I	12,244	7,707	.....	.....
Iowa	70,118	55,639	1,034	1,763	S. C	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ky	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058	Tenn	.....	11,350	64,709	69,274
La	.....	7,625	22,681	20,204	Tex	.....	.....	47,548	15,438
Me	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	Vt	33,808	6,849	218	1,969
Md	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760	Va	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681
Mass	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331	Wis	86,110	65,021	888	161
Mich	88,480	65,057	805	405					
Minn	22,069	11,920	748	62	Total	1,866,352	1,375,157	845,763	589,581
Miss	.....	3,283	40,797	25,040					

1864.

State.	Lincoln, Rep.	McClellan, Dem.	State.	Lincoln, Rep.	McClellan, Dem.	State.	Lincoln, Rep.	McClellan, Dem.
Alabama	.....	.....	Maine	61,503	44,211	Oregon	9,888	8,457
Arkansas	.....	.....	Maryland	40,153	32,737	Pennsylvania	296,391	276,316
California	62,134	43,841	Massachusetts	126,742	48,745	Rhode Island	13,692	8,470
Connecticut	44,691	42,285	Michigan	85,352	67,370	S. Carolina	.....	.....
Delaware	8,155	8,767	Minnesota	25,060	17,375	Tennessee	.....	.....
Florida	.....	.....	Mississippi	.....	.....	Texas	.....	.....
Georgia	.....	.....	Missouri	72,750	31,678	Vermont	42,419	13,321
Illinois	189,519	158,724	Nevada	9,826	6,594	Virginia	.....	.....
Indiana	150,422	130,233	N. Hampshire	36,596	33,034	West Virginia	23,152	10,438
Iowa	88,500	49,525	New Jersey	60,723	68,024	Wisconsin	83,458	65,884
Kansas	16,814	3,691	New York	368,735	361,986			
Kentucky	27,786	64,301	N. Carolina	.....	.....	Total	2,216,067	1,808,725
Louisiana	.....	.....	Ohio	265,654	205,599			

In South Carolina in 1848, 1852, 1856, and 1860 the Presidential Electors were chosen by the Legislature.

In 1864 the States of Tennessee and Louisiana also held elections and were carried for Lincoln; "but," says A. K. McClure in his book "Our Presidents," "their votes were not necessary to the election of the Republican ticket, and although Lincoln earnestly desired that these States should be recognized and the votes counted, Congress, by joint resolution, that Lincoln signed with great reluctance, declared that they should not be recognized, and they were omitted." Nor was there any count in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, or Texas.

1868.

State.	Grant, Rep.	Seymour, Dem.	State.	Grant, Rep.	Seymour, Dem.	State.	Grant, Rep.	Seymour, Dem.
Alabama	76,366	72,088	Maine	70,493	42,460	Ohio	280,167	238,621
Arkansas	22,112	19,078	Maryland	30,438	62,537	Oregon	10,961	11,125
California	54,583	54,077	Massachusetts	136,477	59,408	Pennsylvania	342,280	313,382
Connecticut	50,995	47,952	Michigan	113,229	82,364	Rhode Island	12,993	6,548
Delaware	7,614	10,957	Minnesota	43,545	28,075	S. Carolina	62,301	45,237
Florida	.....	.....	Mississippi	.....	.....	Tennessee	56,628	26,129
Georgia	57,134	102,722	Missouri	86,860	65,628	Texas	.....	.....
Illinois	250,293	199,143	Nebraska	9,729	5,439	Vermont	44,167	12,045
Indiana	176,548	166,980	Nevada	6,480	5,218	Virginia	.....	.....
Iowa	120,399	74,040	N. Hampshire	37,718	30,575	West Virginia	28,638	19,982
Kansas	30,028	13,620	New Jersey	80,131	83,001	Wisconsin	108,857	84,710
Kentucky	39,566	115,890	New York	419,883	429,883			
Louisiana	33,263	88,225	N. Carolina	96,769	84,601	Total	3,015,071	2,709,615

1872.

State.	Grant, Rep.	Greeley, Dem.&L.	State.	Grant, Rep.	Greeley, Dem.&L.	State.	Grant, Rep.	Greeley, Dem.&L.
Alabama	90,272	79,444	Maine	61,422	29,087	Ohio	281,852	244,321
Arkansas	41,373	37,927	Maryland	66,760	67,687	Oregon	11,818	7,742
California	54,020	40,718	Massachusetts	133,472	59,260	Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041
Connecticut	50,638	45,880	Michigan	136,199	77,020	Rhode Island	13,665	5,329
Delaware	11,115	10,208	Minnesota	55,117	34,423	S. Carolina	72,290	22,703
Florida	17,763	15,427	Mississippi	82,175	47,288	Tennessee	84,930	94,218
Georgia	62,550	76,356	Missouri	119,116	151,434	Texas	47,406	66,500
Illinois	241,237	184,772	Nebraska	18,329	7,812	Vermont	41,481	10,927
Indiana	186,147	163,632	Nevada	8,413	6,236	Virginia	93,468	91,654
Iowa	131,566	71,179	N. Hampshire	37,168	31,425	West Virginia	32,323	29,533
Kansas	67,048	32,970	New Jersey	91,656	76,456	Wisconsin	104,992	86,477
Kentucky	88,766	99,995	New York	440,736	387,281			
Louisiana	71,663	57,029	N. Carolina	94,769	70,094	Total	3,597,070	2,834,079

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

JOHN A. BECKER

1876.

State.	Hayes, Rep.	Tilden, Dem.	State.	Hayes, Rep.	Tilden, Dem.	State.	Hayes, Rep.	Tilden, Dem.
Alabama	68,230	102,002	Maine	66,300	49,823	Ohio	330,698	323,182
Arkansas	38,669	58,071	Maryland	71,981	91,780	Oregon	15,214	14,157
California	78,614	75,845	Massachusetts	150,063	108,777	Pennsylvania	384,142	366,158
Colorado	.....	.....	Michigan	166,534	141,095	Rhode Island	15,787	10,712
Connecticut	59,034	61,934	Minnesota	72,962	48,799	S. Carolina	91,870	90,906
Delaware	10,752	13,381	Mississippi	52,605	112,173	Tennessee	89,596	133,166
Florida	23,849	22,923	Missouri	145,029	203,077	Texas	44,800	104,755
Georgia	50,446	130,088	Nebraska	31,916	17,554	Vermont	44,092	20,254
Illinois	278,232	258,601	Nevada	10,383	9,308	Virginia	95,558	139,670
Indiana	208,011	213,526	N. Hampshire	41,540	38,510	West Virginia	41,392	55,584
Iowa	171,326	112,121	New Jersey	103,517	115,962	Wisconsin	130,068	123,927
Kansas	78,354	37,902	New York	489,207	521,949			
Kentucky	97,156	159,690	N. Carolina	108,417	125,427	Total	4,033,950	4,284,885
Louisiana	75,135	70,636						

1880.

State.	Garfield, Rep.	Hancock, Dem.	Weaver, Greenb'k	State.	Garfield, Rep.	Hancock, Dem.	Weaver, Greenb'k
Alabama	56,221	91,185	4,642	Missouri	153,567	208,609	35,135
Arkansas	42,436	60,775	4,079	Nebraska	54,979	28,523	3,950
California	80,348	80,426	3,392	Nevada	7,878	8,619	.....
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435	New Hampshire	44,856	40,797	528
Connecticut	67,071	64,415	868	New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617
Delaware	14,138	15,181	121	New York	555,544	534,511	12,373
Florida	23,654	27,964	.....	North Carolina	115,874	124,208	1,126
Georgia	54,086	102,470	969	Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,358	Oregon	20,619	19,955	245
Indiana	232,164	225,522	12,986	Pennsylvania	444,713	407,502	20,648
Iowa	183,904	105,845	32,327	Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236
Kansas	121,549	59,801	19,851	South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566
Kentucky	106,306	149,068	11,499	Tennessee	98,760	130,381	5,465
Louisiana	38,637	65,067	439	Texas	57,893	156,428	27,405
Maine	74,039	65,171	4,408	Vermont	45,567	18,316	1,215
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818	Virginia	84,020	128,586	.....
Massachusetts	165,205	111,960	4,548	West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079
Michigan	185,190	131,301	34,895	Wisconsin	144,897	114,634	7,980
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,267				
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797	Total	4,449,053	4,442,030	307,306

In 1868 the Florida electors were chosen by the Legislature. Under a joint resolution of Congress, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were excluded from voting because they had no representation in Congress under the Reconstruction laws. The other Southern States had representation in Congress, except Georgia. There was a dispute in both Senate and House over Georgia, but Mr. Wade, President of the Senate, decided that Georgia's vote be counted.

In 1876 the Colorado electors were chosen by the Legislature.

1884.

State.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Blaine, Rep.	St. John, Proh.	Butler, G'nback.	State.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Blaine, Rep.	St. John, Proh.	Butler, G'nback.
Ala.	93,951	59,591	612	873	Mo.	235,988	202,929	2,153	.....
Ark.	72,927	50,895	.....	1,847	Neb.	54,391	76,912	2,899	.....
Cal.	89,288	102,416	2,920	2,017	Nev.	5,578	7,193	.....	26
Col.	27,723	36,290	761	1,958	N. H.	39,198	43,254	1,571	552
Conn.	67,199	65,923	2,305	1,688	N. J.	127,778	123,366	6,153	3,456
Del.	16,976	13,053	64	10	N. Y.	563,154	562,005	25,006	17,004
Fla.	31,766	28,031	72	.....	N. C.	142,592	125,068	454	.....
Ga.	94,667	48,603	195	145	Ohio	368,280	400,082	11,069	5,179
Ill.	312,351	337,469	12,074	10,776	Ore.	24,604	26,860	492	726
Ind.	244,990	238,463	3,028	8,293	Penn.	392,785	473,804	15,283	16,992
Iowa	177,316	197,088	1,472	.....	R. I.	12,391	19,030	928	432
Kan.	90,132	154,406	4,495	16,341	S. C.	69,890	21,733	.....	.....
Ky.	152,961	118,122	3,139	1,691	Tenn.	133,324	124,093	1,176	956
La.	62,540	46,347	.....	.....	Tex.	225,309	93,141	3,534	3,321
Me.	52,140	72,209	2,160	3,953	Vt.	17,331	39,514	1,752	785
Md.	96,932	85,699	2,794	531	Va.	145,497	139,356	138	.....
Mass.	122,481	146,724	10,026	24,433	W. Va.	67,331	63,913	939	810
Mich.	149,835	192,669	18,403	42,243	Wis.	146,453	161,135	7,649	4,598
Minn.	70,144	111,923	4,684	3,583					
Miss.	76,510	43,509	.....	.....	Total	4,911,017	4,848,334	151,809	133,825

1888.

State.	Harrison, Rep.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Fish, Proh.	Streeter, U. Lab.	State.	Harrison, Rep.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Fish, Proh.	Streeter, U. Lab.
Ala.	57,597	117,320	593	.....	Mo.	236,253	261,954	4,540	18,589
Ark.	58,752	85,962	614	10,613	Neb.	108,425	80,552	9,429	4,226
Cal.	124,816	117,729	5,761	.....	Nev.	7,038	5,149	41	.....
Col.	50,774	37,567	2,191	1,266	N. H.	45,724	43,382	1,566	42
Conn.	74,584	74,920	4,234	240	N. J.	144,344	151,493	7,904	.....
Del.	12,973	16,414	400	.....	N. Y.	650,338	635,965	30,231	626
Fla.	26,659	39,561	403	.....	N. C.	134,784	147,902	2,789	47
Ga.	40,446	100,449	1,808	.....	Ohio	416,054	396,455	24,356	3,496
Ill.	370,475	348,371	21,703	7,534	Ore.	33,291	26,522	1,677	363
Ind.	263,361	261,013	9,881	2,694	Penn.	526,091	446,633	20,947	3,873
Iowa	211,603	179,877	3,550	9,105	R. I.	21,969	17,530	1,251	.....
Kan.	182,904	102,745	6,779	37,788	S. C.	13,740	65,825	.....	.....
Ky.	155,134	183,800	5,225	.....	Tenn.	138,988	158,779	5,969	48
La.	30,701	85,026	127	39	Tex.	88,280	234,883	4,749	29,459
Me.	73,734	50,482	2,690	1,345	Vt.	45,192	16,788	1,459	.....
Md.	99,986	106,168	4,767	.....	Va.	150,438	151,977	1,678	.....
Mass.	183,892	151,855	8,701	.....	W. Va.	78,171	78,677	1,085	1,508
Mich.	236,387	213,469	20,495	4,555	Wis.	176,553	155,232	14,277	8,552
Minn.	142,492	104,385	15,311	1,097					
Miss.	30,096	85,471	218	222	Total	5,440,216	5,538,233	249,907	148,105

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

G.L. ULLMAN

LEDYARD COGSWELL

C.L. BAILEY

W.C. DE ROUVILLE

C.F. SCHIFFERDECKER

HAROLD D. ALEXANDER

F.A. HIGGINS

JAMES R. WATT

E.F. WITBECK

EMINENT NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICANS

1892.

State.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Harrison, Rep.	Weaver, Peop.	Bidwell, Proh.	State.	Clevel'd, Dem.	Harrison, Rep.	Weaver, Peop.	Bidwell, Proh.
Ala.	138,138	9,197	85,181	239	Neb.	24,983	87,227	83,134	4,902
Ark.	87,752	46,974	11,831	113	Nev.	714	2,811	7,264	89
Cal.	118,151	118,027	25,311	8,096	N. H.	42,081	45,658	293	1,297
Col.	.....	38,620	53,584	1,687	N. J.	171,042	156,068	969	8,131
Conn.	82,395	77,032	809	4,026	N. Y.	654,868	609,350	16,429	38,190
Del.	18,581	18,077	.....	564	N. C.	132,591	100,346	44,732	2,636
Fla.	30,143	.....	4,843	570	N. Dak.	.....	17,159	17,650	899
Ga.	129,386	48,305	42,939	988	Ohio	404,115	405,187	14,850	26,012
Idaho	2	8,599	10,520	288	Ore.	14,243	35,002	26,875	2,281
Ill.	426,281	399,288	22,207	25,871	Penn.	452,264	516,011	8,714	25,123
Ind.	262,740	255,615	22,198	13,044	R. I.	24,336	26,975	228	1,654
Iowa	196,366	219,795	20,595	6,402	S. C.	54,698	13,384	2,410	.....
Kan.	.....	157,241	163,111	4,553	S. Dak.	9,081	34,880	26,512	.....
Ky.	175,461	135,441	23,500	6,442	Tenn.	136,490	99,849	23,730	4,799
La.	87,922	13,331	13,332	.....	Tex.	239,148	81,444	99,638	2,165
Me.	48,024	62,878	2,045	3,062	Vt.	16,325	37,992	43	1,415
Md.	113,866	92,736	796	5,877	Va.	163,977	113,526	12,274	2,681
Mass.	176,813	202,814	3,210	7,539	Wash.	29,844	36,470	19,105	2,553
Mich.	202,296	222,708	19,931	20,857	W. Va.	84,467	80,293	4,166	2,145
Minn.	100,579	122,736	30,398	14,182	Wis.	177,325	171,101	10,019	13,136
Miss.	40,237	1,406	10,259	610	Wyo.	8,454	7,722	530	.....
Mo.	268,628	226,762	41,183	4,298					
Mont.	17,534	18,838	7,259	517	Total	5,556,918	5,176,108	1,041,028	264,133

It was in the Presidential campaign of 1884 that the Rev. Dr. Burchard, heading a delegation of ministers who called on Mr. Blaine, at New York City, to congratulate him, made the much-lamented reference to "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," which was held largely responsible for Blaine's defeat. The defeat of Cleveland in 1888 was attributed by Democratic politicians to his message to Congress, delivered a year before, making the tariff and revenue question the sole issue before the country. In 1892 Simon Wing, the Socialist-Labor candidate, polled 21,164 votes, which is included in the total. Both Republicans and Democrats fused with the Weaver, or People's Party, in different States. This is why no votes were cast for Cleveland in Colorado, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming; none for Harrison in Florida, and only a nominal vote in Alabama and Mississippi.

1896.

State.	McKin'y, Rep.	Bryan, D.,Peop.	Livering, Proh.	Palmer, Nat.-D.	State.	McKin'y, Rep.	Bryan, D., Peop.	Livering, Proh.	Palmer, Nat.-D.
Ala.....	54,737	131,226	2,147	6,462	Nev.....	1,939	7,802	.....	.....
Ark.....	37,512	110,103	839	.....	N. H.....	57,444	21,271	776	3,520
Cal.....	146,588	166,496	2,573	2,006	N. J.....	221,367	133,675	5,614	6,373
Col.....	26,279	161,269	1,724	1	N. Y.....	819,838	551,369	16,052	18,950
Conn.....	110,285	56,740	1,806	4,336	N. C.....	155,222	174,488	635	578
Del.....	20,452	16,615	602	966	N. Dak.....	26,355	20,686	358	.....
Fla.....	11,257	31,958	644	1,772	Ohio.....	525,991	474,882	5,068	1,858
Ga.....	60,091	94,632	5,716	2,708	Ore.....	48,779	46,739	919	977
Idaho.....	6,314	23,135	172	.....	Penn.....	728,300	433,228	19,274	11,000
Ill.....	607,130	464,523	9,796	6,307	R. I.....	37,437	14,459	1,160	1,166
Ind.....	323,748	306,206	2,973	2,146	S. C.....	9,313	58,801	.....	824
Iowa.....	289,293	223,741	3,192	4,516	S. Dak.....	41,042	41,225	604	.....
Kan.....	159,345	171,695	1,698	1,209	Tenn.....	149,403	168,878	3,140	2,106
Ky.....	218,171	217,890	.....	4,781	Texas.....	162,506	368,289	5,030	4,853
La.....	22,037	77,175	.....	1,834	Utah.....	13,461	67,053	.....	.....
Me.....	80,465	34,588	1,570	1,870	Vt.....	50,991	10,607	728	1,329
Md.....	136,978	104,746	5,922	2,507	Va.....	135,388	154,985	2,344	2,127
Mass.....	278,976	105,711	2,998	11,749	Wash.....	39,153	51,646	968	1,668
Mich.....	293,072	236,994	4,938	6,905	W. Va.....	105,379	94,488	1,223	678
Minn.....	193,503	139,735	4,338	32,316	Wis.....	268,135	165,523	7,507	4,584
Miss.....	5,123	53,800	390	1,017	Wyo.....	10,072	10,861	159	.....
Mo.....	304,940	363,667	2,169	2,355					
Mont.....	10,494	42,537	186	.....	Total	7,104,779	6,502,925	132,007	133,148
Neb.....	102,564	115,624	1,196	2,797					

1900.

State.	Mc-Kinley, Rep.	Bryan, Dem.	Wool-ley, Proh.	Baker, A. F. Peop.	Debs, Soc. Dem.	State.	Mc-Kinley, Rep.	Bryan, Dem.	Wool-ley, Proh.	Baker, A. F. Peop.	Debs, Soc. Dem.
Ala.....	53,669	96,368	1,407	3,796	928	Nev.....	3,849	6,347	.....	.....	.....
Ark.....	44,800	81,142	584	972	27	N. H.....	54,799	35,489	1,270	.....	790
Cal.....	164,755	124,985	5,024	387	7,572	N. J.....	219,391	165,908	7,144	669	4,221
Col.....	93,067	122,733	3,790	389	684	N. Y.....	822,013	678,462	22,077	.....	12,869
Conn....	102,572	74,014	1,617	.....	1,029	N. C.....	132,997	157,733	990	737	.....
Del.....	22,535	18,863	546	.....	57	N. Dak..	35,898	20,531	731	110	518
Fla.....	7,604	28,261	2,234	1,070	603	Ohio.....	543,918	474,882	10,203	251	4,847
Ga.....	34,028	77,353	1,396	4,548	.....	Ore.....	46,526	33,385	2,536	275	1,494
Idaho...	27,198	29,646	857	213	.....	Penn.....	712,665	424,232	27,908	638	4,831
Ill.....	597,985	503,061	17,626	1,141	9,687	R. I.....	33,784	19,812	1,529	.....	.....
Ind.....	336,063	309,581	13,717	1,438	2,374	S. C.....	33,580	47,236	.....	.....	.....
Iowa....	307,808	209,265	9,502	613	2,742	S. Dak...	54,530	39,544	1,542	339	169
Kan....	185,955	162,601	3,605	.....	1,605	Tenn.....	123,180	145,356	3,882	1,322	413
Ky.....	226,205	234,879	2,262	1,662	770	Tex.....	120,483	267,543	2,644	20,961	1,846
La.....	13,928	53,671	.....	.....	.....	Utah.....	47,089	44,949	205	.....	717
Me.....	65,475	36,822	2,585	.....	878	Vt.....	51,127	10,179	368	.....	371
Md.....	136,212	122,271	4,502	.....	908	Va.....	115,687	146,079	2,153	.....	145
Mass....	238,866	156,977	6,202	.....	9,716	Wash....	57,456	44,833	2,363	.....	2,006
Mich....	316,269	211,685	11,859	837	2,826	W.Va....	119,829	98,807	1,692	219	268
Minn...	190,461	112,901	8,555	.....	3,065	Wis.....	265,760	159,163	10,027	.....	7,048
Miss....	5,753	51,706	.....	1,642	.....	Wyo.....	14,482	10,164	.....	.....	.....
Mo.....	314,092	351,922	5,965	4,244	6,128						
Mont...	25,373	37,146	298	.....	708	Total...	7,207,923	6,358,133	208,914	50,373	96,116
Neb.....	121,835	113,163	3,685	1,103	823						

E. J. HALTER

F. L. WISWALL

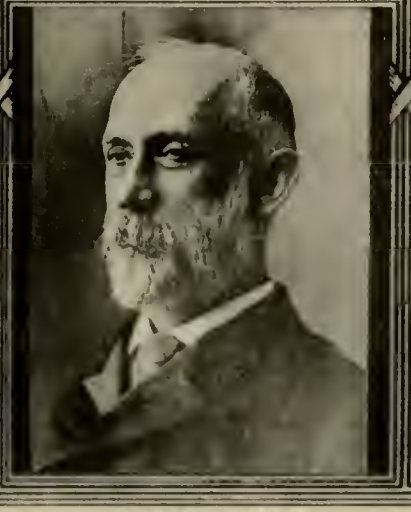
T. E. ROWLAND

JOHN H. REA

CHAS. H. HOTALING

VALENTINE KOMFORT

DANIEL H. PRIOR



JAMES L. WELLS

WILLIAM C. BAXTER

EMINENT NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICANS

UNIV.
CALIFOR

1904.

State.	Roosevelt, Rep.	Parker, Dem.	Debs, Soc.	Swallow, Proh.	Watson, Peop.	State.	Roosevelt, Rep.	Parker, Dem.	Debs, Soc.	Swallow, Proh.	Watson, Peop.
Ala.....	22,472	79,857	853	612	5,051	Nev.....	6,864	3,982	925	.....	344
Ark.....	46,860	64,434	1,816	993	2,318	N. H.....	54,163	34,074	1,090	750	82
Cal.....	205,226	89,294	29,533	7,380	.....	N. J.....	245,151	164,562	9,588	6,839	3,800
Col.....	134,687	100,105	4,304	3,438	824	N. Y.....	859,533	683,981	36,883	20,787	7,459
Conn....	111,089	72,909	4,543	1,506	495	N. C.....	82,442	124,121	124	361	819
Del.....	23,712	19,347	146	607	51	N. Dak..	52,595	14,273	2,017	1,140	165
Fla.....	8,314	27,046	2,337	5	1,605	Ohio.....	600,095	344,674	36,260	19,339	1,392
Ga.....	24,003	83,472	197	684	21,511	Ore.....	60,455	17,521	7,619	3,806	746
Idaho...	47,783	18,480	4,954	1,013	353	Penn.....	840,949	335,430	21,863	33,717	.....
Ill.....	632,645	327,606	69,225	34,770	6,725	R. I.....	41,605	24,839	956	768	.....
Ind.....	368,289	274,345	12,013	23,496	2,444	S. C.....	2,254	54,635	22	.....	1
Iowa....	307,907	149,141	14,847	11,601	2,207	S. Dak...	72,083	21,969	3,138	2,965	1,240
Kan....	212,955	86,174	15,849	7,306	6,253	Tenn.....	105,369	131,282	1,354	1,906	2,506
Ky.....	205,277	217,170	3,602	6,609	2,511	Tex.....	51,242	167,200	2,791	3,905	8,062
La.....	5,205	47,708	995	.....	.....	Utah.....	62,446	33,413	5,767	.....	.....
Me.....	64,438	27,648	2,106	1,510	338	Vt.....	40,456	9,777	844	792	.....
Md.....	109,497	109,446	2,247	3,034	.....	Va.....	46,450	80,638	218	1,382	359
Mass....	257,822	165,746	13,604	4,279	1,294	Wash ...	101,540	28,098	10,023	3,229	669
Mich....	364,957	135,392	9,042	13,441	1,159	W. Va...	132,628	100,881	1,574	4,604	339
Minn...	216,651	55,187	11,692	6,253	2,103	Wis.....	280,164	124,107	28,220	9,770	530
Miss....	3,189	53,376	393	.....	1,425	Wyo.....	20,489	8,930	1,077	207	.....
Mo.....	321,449	296,312	13,009	7,191	4,226						
Mont...	34,932	21,773	5,676	335	1,520	Total...	7,623,486	5,077,971	402,321	258,536	117,183
Neb.....	138,558	51,876	7,412	6,323	20,518						

Bryan got the nomination in 1896 by his "crown of thorns" speech at the convention. Democrats and Silver Republicans fused in many States at the election; Democrats and Populists also fused. In 1904, in Illinois, the Continental Party cast 830 votes.

1908.

State.	Taft, Rep.	Bryan, Dem.	Debs, Soc.	Chafin, Proh.	Hisgen, Ind.	State.	Taft, Rep.	Bryan, Dem.	Debs, Soc.	Chafin, Proh.	Hisgen, Ind.
Ala.....	26,283	74,374	1,399	665	495	Nev....	10,775	11,212	2,103	.....	436
Ark.....	56,679	87,015	5,842	1,194	289	N. H....	53,149	33,655	1,299	905	584
Cal.....	214,398	127,492	28,659	11,770	4,278	N. J....	265,298	182,522	10,249	4,930	2,916
Col.....	123,700	126,644	7,974	5,559	.....	N. Y....	870,070	667,468	38,451	22,667	35,817
Conn...	112,815	68,255	5,113	2,380	728	N. C....	114,887	136,928	345	.....	.....
Del.....	25,014	22,071	239	670	30	N. Dak.	57,680	32,885	2,421	1,496	43
Fla.....	10,654	31,104	3,747	1,356	553	Ohio....	572,312	502,721	33,795	11,402	439
Ga.....	41,692	72,350	584	1,059	77	Okla....	110,558	122,406	21,779	.....	244
Idaho...	52,621	36,162	6,400	1,968	119	Ore.....	62,530	38,049	7,339	2,682	289
Ill.....	629,932	450,810	34,711	29,364	7,724	Penn....	745,779	448,778	33,913	36,694	1,057
Ind.....	348,993	338,262	13,476	18,045	514	R. I.....	43,942	24,706	1,365	1,016	1,105
Iowa....	275,209	200,771	8,287	9,837	404	S. C.....	3,963	62,288	101	.....	42
Kan....	197,216	161,209	12,420	5,033	68	S. Dak..	67,466	40,266	2,846	4,039	88
Ky.....	235,711	244,092	4,185	5,887	200	Tenn....	118,324	135,638	1,870	300	332
La.....	8,958	63,568	2,538	.....	79	Tex.....	65,666	217,302	7,870	1,634	115
Me.....	66,987	35,403	1,758	1,487	700	Utah....	61,165	42,601	4,890	.....	92
Md.....	116,513	115,908	2,323	3,302	485	Vt.....	39,558	11,500	.....	802	804
Mass....	265,966	155,543	10,781	4,781	19,239	Va.....	52,573	82,946	255	1,111	51
Mich....	335,580	175,771	11,586	16,974	760	Wash...	106,062	58,691	14,117	4,700	249
Minn....	195,843	109,401	14,527	11,107	426	W. Va..	137,869	111,418	3,679	5,139	46
Miss....	4,363	58,286	978	.....	.....	Wis.....	247,747	166,632	28,164	11,564	.....
Mo.....	347,203	346,574	15,431	4,284	402	Wyo....	20,846	14,918	1,715	66	64
Mont...	32,333	29,326	5,855	827	443						
Neb.....	126,997	131,099	3,524	5,179	.....	Total..	7,678,908	6,409,104	420,973	253,840	82,872

1912.

State.	Taft, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Chafin, Proh.	Debs, Soc.	State.	Taft, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Chafin, Proh.	Debs, Soc.
Ala.....	9,732	82,438	22,680	.....	3,029	N. H....	32,927	34,724	17,794	535	1,980
Ariz.....	3,021	10,324	6,949	265	3,163	N. J....	38,834	170,282	145,409	2,875	15,900
Ark.....	24,467	68,838	21,673	898	8,153	N. M...	17,900	22,139	8,347	.....	2,859
Cal.....	3,914	283,436	283,610	23,366	79,201	N. Y....	455,428	655,475	390,021	19,427	63,381
Col.....	58,386	114,232	72,306	5,063	16,418	N. C....	29,139	144,507	69,667	1,025	117
Conn....	68,324	74,561	34,129	2,068	10,056	N. D....	23,090	29,555	25,726	1,243	6,966
Del.....	15,997	22,631	8,886	623	556	Ohio....	278,168	424,834	229,807	11,511	90,144
Fla.....	4,279	36,417	4,535	1,854	4,806	Okla....	90,786	119,156	.....	2,185	41,674
Ga.....	5,191	93,076	21,980	147	1,026	Ore....	34,673	47,064	37,600	4,360	13,343
Idaho...	32,810	33,921	25,527	1,537	11,960	Penn....	273,305	395,619	447,426	19,533	80,915
Ill.....	253,593	405,048	386,478	15,710	81,278	R. I....	27,703	30,412	16,878	616	2,049
Ind.....	151,267	281,890	162,007	19,249	36,931	S. C....	536	48,357	1,293	.....	164
Iowa....	119,805	185,325	161,819	8,440	16,967	S. D....	.....	48,942	58,811	3,910	4,662
Kan....	74,845	143,663	120,210	.....	26,779	Tenn....	59,444	130,335	53,725	825	3,492
Ky.....	115,512	219,584	102,766	3,233	11,647	Tex.....	26,745	219,489	28,530	1,698	24,896
La.....	3,834	60,971	9,323	.....	5,249	Utah....	42,100	36,579	24,174	.....	9,023
Me.....	26,545	51,113	48,495	946	2,541	Vt.....	23,332	15,354	22,132	1,095	928
Md.....	54,956	112,674	57,789	2,244	3,996	Va.....	23,288	90,332	21,777	709	820
Mass....	155,948	173,408	142,228	2,754	12,616	Wash...	70,445	86,840	113,698	9,810	40,134
Mich....	152,244	150,751	214,584	8,934	23,211	W. Va..	56,667	113,046	78,977	4,534	15,336
Minn...	64,334	106,426	125,856	7,886	27,505	Wis.....	130,695	164,228	62,460	8,586	33,481
Miss....	1,595	57,227	3,645	.....	2,061	Wyo....	14,560	15,310	9,232	434	2,760
Mo.....	207,821	330,746	124,371	5,380	28,466						
Mont...	18,512	27,941	22,456	32	10,885	Total..	3,483,922	6,286,214	4,126,020	208,923	897,011
Neb....	54,029	109,008	72,614	3,383	10,174						
Nev.....	3,196	7,986	5,620	.....	3,313	Plurality.	.....	2,160,194	.....	.....	.....

1916.

State.	Hughes, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Prog.	Hanly, Proh.	Benson, Soc.	State.	Hughes, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Prog.	Hanly, Proh.	Benson, Soc.
Ala.....	22,809	99,409	.....	1,034	1,925	N. H....	43,723	43,779	.....	303	1,318
Ariz.....	20,524	33,170	.....	1,153	3,174	N. J....	269,352	211,645	.....	3,187	10,462
Ark.....	47,148	112,148	.....	2,015	6,999	N. M...	31,163	33,693	.....	112	1,999
Cal.....	462,394	466,200	.....	27,698	43,259	N. Y....	869,115	759,426	10,172	19,031	45,944
Col.....	102,308	178,816	.....	2,793	10,049	N. C....	120,988	168,383	.....	51	490
Conn....	106,514	99,786	.....	1,789	5,179	N. D....	53,471	55,206	.....	.....	.....
Del.....	26,011	24,753	.....	566	480	Ohio....	514,753	604,161	.....	8,080	38,092
Fla.....	14,611	55,984	.....	4,855	5,353	Okla....	97,233	148,113	234	1,646	45,190
Ga.....	11,225	125,845	20,653	.....	967	Ore.....	126,813	120,087	.....	4,729	9,711
Idaho...	55,368	70,054	.....	1,127	8,066	Penn....	703,734	521,784	.....	28,525	42,637
Ill.....	1,152,549	950,229	.....	26,047	61,394	R. I....	44,858	40,394	.....	470	1,914
Ind.....	341,005	334,063	3,898	16,368	21,855	S. C....	1,550	61,846	.....	.....	135
Iowa....	280,449	221,699	.....	3,371	10,976	S. D....	64,217	59,191	.....	1,774	3,760
Kan....	277,658	314,588	.....	12,882	24,685	Tenn....	116,223	153,282	.....	147	2,542
Ky.....	241,854	269,990	.....	3,036	4,734	Tex.....	64,999	286,514	.....	1,985	18,963
La.....	6,466	79,875	6,349	.....	292	Utah...	54,137	84,025	.....	149	4,460
Me.....	69,506	64,127	.....	597	2,177	Vt.....	40,250	22,708	.....	709	798
Md.....	117,347	138,359	.....	2,903	2,674	Va.....	49,356	102,824	.....	783	1,060
Mass....	268,784	247,885	.....	2,993	11,058	Wash...	167,244	183,388	.....	6,868	22,800
Mich....	339,097	285,151	.....	8,139	16,120	W. Va..	143,124	140,403	.....	175	6,140
Minn...	179,544	179,152	290	7,793	20,117	Wis.....	221,323	193,042	.....	7,166	27,846
Miss....	4,253	80,422	.....	.....	1,484	Wyo....	21,698	28,316	.....	373	1,453
Mo.....	369,339	398,025	.....	3,884	14,612						
Mont...	66,750	101,063	298	.....	9,564	Total..	8,538,221	9,129,606	41,894	220,506	585,113
Neb.....	117,257	158,827	.....	2,952	7,141						
Nev.....	12,127	17,776	.....	348	3,065	Plurality.	.....	591,385	.....	.....	.....

FRANK A. COSS

THADDEUS S. SWEET

J. SHELDON FROST

WM. V. R. ERVING

W. B. LEROY

FRANCIS M. HUGO

WARREN S. HASTINGS

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CHARLES G. NIVER

EMINENT NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICANS

1920.

State.	Harding, Rep.	Cox, Dem.	Christensen, Farmer-Labor	Watkins, Proh.	Debs, Soc.	State.	Harding, Rep.	Cox, Dem.	Christensen, Farmer-Labor	Watkins, Proh.	Debs, Soc.
Ala						N. H.					
Ariz						N. J.					
Ark						N. M.					
Cal						N. Y.					
Col						N. C.					
Conn						N. D.					
Del						Ohio					
Fla						Okla					
Ga						Ore					
Idaho						Penn					
Ill						R. I.					
Ind						S. C.					
Iowa						S. D.					
Kan						Tenn					
Ky						Tex					
La						Utah					
Me						Vt					
Md						Va					
Mass						Wash					
Mich						W. Va.					
Minn						Wis					
Miss						Wyo					
Mo											
Mont						Total					
Neb											
Nev						Plurality					

TABLE SHOWING PRESIDENTS, POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF CONGRESSES AND TARIFFS SINCE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Year	President	Senate	Congress	House of Representatives	Tariff
1853 1854 1855 1856	Pierce	Democratic Democratic	33d 34th	Democratic Anti-Nebraska	Act of 1846
1857 1858 1859 1860	Buchanan	Democratic Democratic	35th 36th	Democratic Republican[1]	March 3, 1857 Act of 1857
1861 1862 1863 1864	Lincoln	Republican Republican	37th 38th	Republican Republican	March 2 and August 5, 1861
1865 1866 1867 1868	Lincoln Johnson	Republican Republican	39th 40th	Republican Republican	
1869 1870 1871 1872	Grant	Republican Republican	41st 42d	Republican Republican	Morrill
1873 1874 1875 1876	Grant	Republican Republican	43d 44th	Republican Democratic	Tariff
1877 1878 1879 1880	Hayes	Republican Democratic	45th 46th	Democratic Democratic	and Supplementary
1881 1882 1883 1884	Garfield Arthur	Republican Republican	47th 48th	Republican Democratic	Laws
1885 1886 1887 1888	Cleveland	Republican Republican	49th 50th	Democratic Democratic	
1889 1890 1891 1892	Harrison	Republican Republican	51st 52d	Republican Democratic	October 6, 1890 McKinley Tariff
1893 1894 1895 1896	Cleveland	Democratic No party majority	53d 54th	Democratic Republican	August 28, 1894, Wilson-Gorman Tariff
1897 1898 1899 1900	McKinley	Republican Republican	55th 56th	Republican Republican	July 24, 1897
1901 1902 1903 1904	McKinley Roosevelt	Republican Republican	57th 58th	Republican Republican	Dingley Tariff
1905 1906 1907 1908	Roosevelt	Republican Republican	59th 60th	Republican Republican	
1909 1910 1911 1912	Taft	Republican Republican	61st 62d	Republican Democratic	August 5, 1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff
1913 1914 1915 1916	Wilson	Democratic Democratic	63d 64th	Democratic Democratic	Simmons-Underwood Act of 1913
1917 1918 1919 1920	Wilson	Democratic Republican	65th 66th	Democratic Republican	
1921 1922 1923 1924			67th 68th		

[1] No party majority, but a Republican was elected Speaker.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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Ass't to Chair.	Ralph V. Sollitt	New York City
Vice-Chairman	John T. Adams	Dubuque, Ia.
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Treasurer	Fred W. Upham	Illinois
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Arizona	Allan B. Jaynes	Tucson
Arkansas	H. L. Remmel	Little Rock
California	Wm. H. Crocker	Crocker National Bank, San Francisco
Colorado	John F. Vivian	State House, Denver
Connecticut	J. Henry Roraback	Canaan
Delaware	T. Coleman du Pont	120 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.
Florida	George W. Beau	Tampa
Georgia	Henry Lincoln Johnson	Atlanta
Idaho	John W. Hart	Rigby
Illinois	Lawrence Y. Sherman	Springfield
Indiana	Joseph B. Kealing	Indiana Trust Bldg., Indianapolis
Iowa	John T. Adams	Dubuque
Kansas	David W. Mulvane	Mulvane Bldg., Topeka
Kentucky	A. T. Hert	Care of American Creosoting Co., Louisville
Louisiana	Emile Kunz	8000 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans
Maine	Guy P. Gannett	Augusta
Maryland	Wm. P. Jackson	Salisbury
Massachusetts	John W. Weeks	West Newton
Michigan	Fred M. Warner	Farmington, Oakland County
Minnesota	I. A. Caswell	816 Gordon Life Bldg., St. Paul
Mississippi	M. J. Mulvihill	Vicksburg
Missouri	Jacob L. Bahler	International Life Insurance Co., St. Louis
Montana	D. H. P. Shelley	Helena
Nebraska	R. P. Howell	Omaha
Nevada	George Wingfield	Reno
N. Hampshire	Fred W. Estabrook	Nashua
New Jersey	Hamilton F. Kean	5 Nassau Street, New York City
New Mexico	H. O. Bursum	Socorro
New York	Charles D. Hilles	25 Liberty St., New York City
N. Carolina	John M. Morehead	Charlotte
N. Dakota	Gunder Olsen	Grafton
Ohio	R. K. Hynicka	Care of Columbia Amusement Co., 701 7th Ave., New York City
Oklahoma	Jake E. Hamon	Ardmore
Oregon	R. E. Williams	Board of Trade Bldg., Portland
Pennsylvania	Boies Penrose	601 Commercial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia
Rhode Island	Frederick S. Peck	17 Exchange St., Providence, R. I.
S. Carolina	Joseph W. Tolbert	Greenwood
S. Dakota	I. W. C. Cook	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	John W. Overhall	Nashville
Texas	H. F. MacGregor	704 Main Street, Houston
Utah	E. Bamburger	163 Main Street, Salt Lake City
Vermont	Earle S. Kinsley	Rutland
Virginia	C. B. Slemp	Big Stone Gap
Washington	Guy E. Kelly	219 Bankers Trust Bldg., Tacoma
West Virginia	V. L. Highland	Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Alfred T. Rogers	Madison
Wyoming	Patrick Sullivan	Casper
Dist. of Col.	E. F. Colladay	Union Trust Bldg., Washington
Alaska	J. C. McBride	Juneau
Philippines	Henry B. McCoy	Manila
Porto Rico	R. H. Todd	San Juan
Hawaii	Robert W. Shingle	Honolulu
Headquarters	New York and Chicago	

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEES

States	*Chairmen*	*Post-Offices*
Alabama	Pope M. Long	Cordova
Arizona	Albert M. Sames	Douglas
Arkansas	A. C. Remmel	Little Rock
California	Raymond Benjamin	San Francisco
Colorado	Rush L. Holland	Col. Springs
Connecticut	J. Henry Roraback	Canaan
Delaware	Daniel J. Layton, Jr.	Georgetown
Florida	Daniel T. Gerow	Jacksonville
Georgia	Roscoe Pickett	Jasper
Idaho	John Thomas	Gooding
Illinois	Frank L. Smith	Dwight
Indiana	Edm. M. Wasmuth	Huntington
Iowa	Chas. A. Rawson	Des Moines
Kansas	H. H. Motter	Olathe
Kentucky	E. T. Franks	Owensboro
" Camp'n Com.	Chesley H. Searcey	Louisville
Louisiana	D. A. Lines	New Orleans
Maine	Frank J. Ham	Augusta
Maryland	Galen L. Tait	Baltimore
Massachusetts	Frank B. Hall	Worcester
Michigan	Burt D. Cady	Port Huron
Minnesota	Gustav Lindquist	St. Paul
Mississippi	M. H. Daily	Coldwater
Missouri	W. L. Cole	Union
Montana	John A. Tressler	Malta
Nebraska	Myron L. Learned (Vice-Chairman)	Omaha
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N. Hampshire	Dwight Hall	Dover
New Jersey	E. C. Stokes	Trenton
New Mexico	George R. Craig	Albuquerque
New York	George A. Glynn	New York City
N. Carolina	Frank A. Linney	Boone
N. Dakota	Wm. Lemke	Fargo
Ohio	N. H. Fairbanks	Springfield
" Ch. Advis. Comm.	George H. Clark	Canton
Oklahoma	James A. Harris	Wagoner
Oregon	Thomas Tongue, Jr.	Hillsboro
Pennsylvania	William E. Crow	Uniontown
Rhode Island	Jos. P. Burlingame	Providence
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Tennessee	Hal H. Clements	Knoxville
Texas	Phil E. Baer	Paris
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Washington	S. A. Walker	Seattle
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Wisconsin	Geo. A. West	Milwaukee
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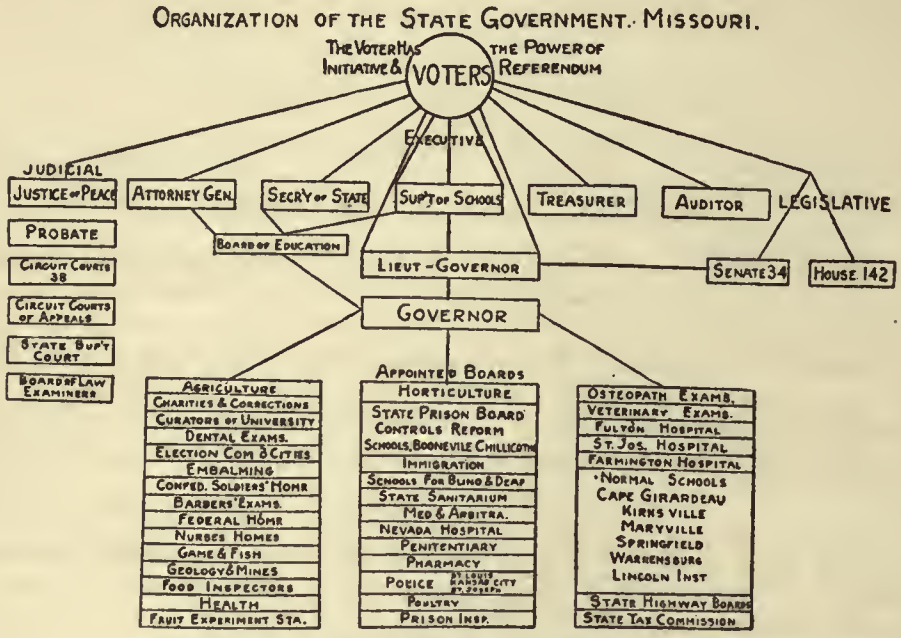
Dist. of Col.	W. T. Galliher	Wash'ton, D. C.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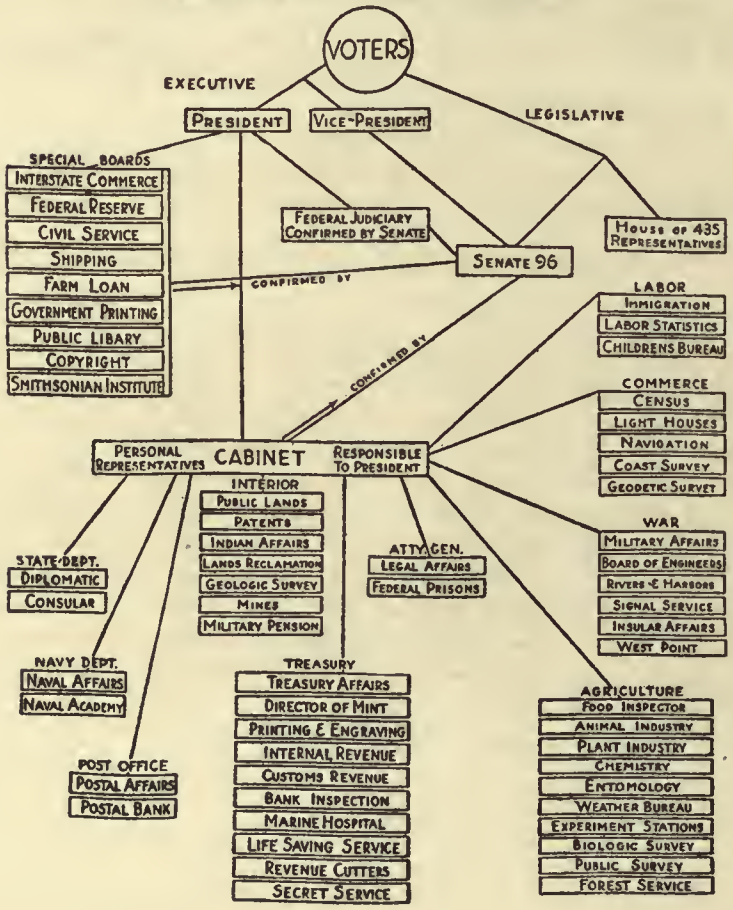
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FINIS

THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

THE adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment completes the process initiated by The Republican Party of making the United States of America a nation. Now for the first time government depends upon the consent of all the governed.

The last bulwark against the adoption of the amendment taking away the power of the States to disfranchise women was the Solid South. The parallel of the Nineteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment is well nigh perfect. The language of the two amendments is almost identical. The Fifteenth Amendment reads:

ARTICLE XV

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

The Nineteenth Amendment reads:

ARTICLE XIX

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

It now remains for the emancipated womanhood of the United States to redeem the nation from the blight of sectionalism, the reason for existence of the baleful pursuit called politics which creates artificial divisions of opinion among the people that politicians may thrive and statesmanship be made impossible.

The added millions of new voters find ready to their hand in The Republican Party an instrument of representative government developed by the American people over a period of sixty-four years. It is the only great national political party functioning independently of the States of the Solid South. It will be in the future as it has been in the past the best agent for carrying out the national will of a free people that history has yet evolved. There is solid basis for the belief that with the support of American women The Republican Party will rise to new heights of national service.

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